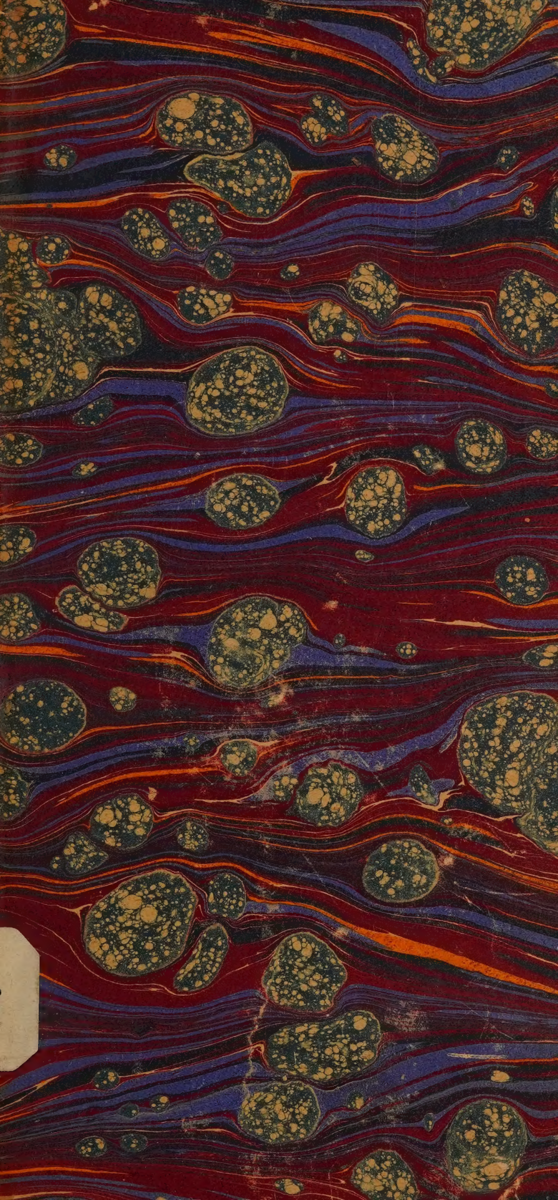

11.10.06

Library of the Theological Seminary,
PRINCETON, N. J.

Division DS111
Section I L3

LECTURES

on

BABYLONIA AND PALESTINE

by

STEPHEN LANGDON, Ph. D.

Fellow of Columbia University, New-York

PARIS (VI^e)
PAUL GEUTHNER
68, Rue Mazarine, 68
1906

NEW-YORK
G. E. STECHERT & C^O

LONDON
WILLIAM WESLEY & SON

Librairie Paul GEUTHNER, rue Mazarine, 68, Paris

WORKS BY THE SAME AUTHOR :

The *Annals of Ashurbanapal* (V. Rawlinson, pl. I-X). Autographed text by *R. Lau*, with glossary, by *S. Langdon*, X, 45, 63 pp., in-12. 1903, 6 fr. 50.

Les *Inscriptions du Wadi-Brissa et du Nahr-el-Kelb*, 39 pp. gr. in-8, 1905, *épuisé*.

The *Building Inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian empire*, part I : *Nabopolassaar and Nebukadnezzar* II, 194 pp. in-8, 1905, 7 fr. 50

Also published by P. GEUTHNER, 68, r. Mazarine, Paris

FLOIRE ET BLANCHEFLOR

Etude de littérature comparée

par **JOACHIM REINHOLD**
Docteur ès Lettres de l'Université de Paris

180 pp. gr. in-8, 1906. Prix 6 fr.

L'auteur étudie les rapports entre la version aristocratique et les remaniements étrangers et arrive à des conclusions tout à fait opposées à celles de ses devanciers. Il élucide ensuite la question complexe des rapports entre les deux versions françaises. **Enfin il expose ses opinions sur l'origine de la légende, repousse la théorie arabe et démontre que les auteurs du XII^{e} s. paraissent avoir ignoré les 1001 nuits.**

BABYLONIA

and

PALESTINE

LECTURES

on

BABYLONIA AND PALESTINE

by

STEPHEN LANGDON, Ph. D.

Fellow of Columbia University, New-York

PARIS (VI^{e})

PAUL GEUTHNER

68, Rue Mazarine, 68

1906

NEW-YORK
G. E. STECHERT & C^{o}

LONDON
WILLIAM WESLEY & SON

ABBEY HASSINGER LANGDON
MATRI FIDELI MEMORABILIQUE
FILIUS SUUS
DEDICAVIT

†

PREFACE

The seven lectures included in this little book were not originally intended for publication. When the writer finally decided to allow his manuscript to be printed it was only with the intention of printing enough copies to supply a limited demand as a souvenir to a cherished circle of friends in Paris. The book has suddenly received much wider publicity than it deserves for reasons not at all explanable. Its sole merit is that it contains material which has been obtained from long study of the North Semitic languages themselves, especially Babylonian and Hebrew. Popular books have generally been written by eclectics who depend entirely on the work of specialists.

This book makes no claim to being a scientific publication. It is a vulgarisation pure and simple. In so far as the writer's studies have been inadequate in many directions so also the views here-in set forth will be found inadequate. The tremendous task of knowing at first hand Sumerian, Babylonian and Old Testament work can only be appreciated by those who have specialized in those subjects.

The reader will find within the covers of this book vast tracks of history passed over with rapidity. Here and there have been left wayside marks to indicate the trend of development and reflect the life and religion of each epoch. The writer trusts that he has succeeded in leaving certain impressions on these pages, above all, the unique value of Hebrew literature and its wonderful evolution towards Christ.

In fulfilment of the promise made to subscribers a list of books for English readers has been added. We have as yet no adequate helps in English for non-technical readers. Germany is richly supplied in that direction especially by the recent publications under the title « Der Alte Orient ». The writer himself has found little material in English. Most note-worthy of all English publications are the Biblical Encyclopedias of Hastings and Cheyne-Black. The former is preferable for the average reader.

In conclusion certain friends claim the

homage of the author. The clergy of the Church of The Holy Trinity have been unfailingly loyal and sympathetic. Every one who has had the privilege of knowing the rector *John B. Morgan*, will be glad to read these lines of tribute to his devotion and courage. A student like myself realizes the vanity of books and technical learning in comparison with the monumental work that this untiring rector has left in Paris.

The author has been effectively aided by *Mrs. Edith Berg of London* who generously purchased and gave to him part of the library of the late and lamented *Jules Oppert*. Her genuine interest in this and all his work deserves signal mention.

At the end in the few pages left by the publisher at my disposal, I have added the text, translation and commentary of some interesting and hitherto unedited documents. They have all been read with *Father Scheil*, professor of Assyriology at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes. I am indebted to him for much help, especially for information in epigraphy in which department he has few equals. It is a great pleasure to leave this little book as a souvenir of my two years' study in France.

Paris, June 7th 1906.

LITERATURE FOR ENGLISH READERS

I

Babylonia and Assyria

1. *Ball, J. C.*, Light from the East.
2. *Detitzsch, Friederick*, Babel and Bible. Open Court Pub. Com. Chicago, 1902 (a lecture).
3 — — Babylonian and Assyrian Epics, Penitential Psalms, Proverbs and Religious Texts (Announced in the Library of Ancient Inscriptions, Scribners.)
4. *Harper R. F.*, The Code of Hammurabi.
5. — , Assyrian and Babylonian Literature.
6. *Hilprecht, H. V.*, Explorations in Bible Lands during, the 19th Century.
7. *Jastrow, M.*, Religion of Babylonia and Assyria.
8. *Johns, C. H. W.*, Babylonian and Assyrian Laws, Contracts and Letters.
9. *Langdon, S.*, Building-Inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian Empire.
10. *Radau, H.*, Early Babylonian history.

11. *Rodgers, R. W.*, A History of Babylonia and Assyria.
12. *Sayce, A H.*, Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion (Hibbert Lectures.)

II

Hebrew and Allied Subjects

1. *Barton, G. A.*, Sketch of Semitic Origins.
2. *Brown, Francis*, Contemporary History of the Old Testament (Announced in the International Theo. Library, Scribners.)
3. *Budde, K.*, Religion of the People of Israel to the Exile.
4. *Charles, R. H.*, A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism and in Christianity.
5. *Cheyne, T. K.*, Jewish Religious Life after the Exile.
6. *Cornill, C. H.*, The Prophets of Israel.
7. — History of the People of Israel.
8. *Curtiss, S. I.*, Primitive Semitic Religion of Today.
9. *Driver, S. R.*, Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament.
10. — Deuteronomy (in the Interna-

(tional Critical Commentaries, Scribners.)

11. *Harper*, *W. R.*, Minor Prophets (idem.)
12. *Kent*, *C. F.*, The Messages of Israel's Law Givers.
13. — The Student's Old Testament.
14. — History of the Jewish People.
15. *King*, *E. G.*, The Psalms in three Collections. Translated with notes.
16. *Moore*, *G. F.*, Judges (see no. 10 idem.)
17. *Ottley*, *R. L.*, The Religion of Israel.
18. *Schürer*, *E.* The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ.
19. *Smith*, *G.A.*, The Book of the Twelve Prophets.
20. *Smith*, *H. P.*, Old Testament History.
21. — Samuel (see no. 10 idem.)
22. *Smith*, *W. R.*, The Old Testament in the Jewish Church.
23. — The Religion of the Semites.
24. *Toy*, *C. H.*, Proverbs (see no. 10 idem.)
25. *Welhausen*, *J.*, Prologomena.
26. — Sketch of the History of Israel,

INDEX

PAGES

PREFACE VII

Literature for English readers XI

LECTURE 1 : Babylonia and Palestine 1

2 : Babylonian and Hebrew Literature. 25

3 : Manners and Social Customs of the Babylonians and Hebrews 53

4 : Babylonian and Hebrew social life and customs, measures and weights, trade and commerce, temples and estates, letter-writing 77

5 : Religion of the Babylonians 97

6 : Religion of the Hebrews to the Exile 123

7 : Religion of the Hebrews after 597 B. C. 141

APPENDIX : Cuneiform texts: Business documents and letters of the Hammurabi Epoch 158

LECTURE I

BABYLONIA AND PALESTINE

The object of this course of lectures is to present in concise form the principal results of historical studies on Babylonia and Palestine during the last 50 years By the discovery and decipherment of Cuneiform inscriptions we have recently added the history of 4000 years to our knowledge of the human race. We are able to read to-day the language of the very first peoples who inhabited this earth; to describe their first attempts in writing, and in arts; to show how their civilization was passed on and on to other peoples, until finally, carried down on the currents of unbroken history we arrive at our own period.

In tracing the stream of history from ourselves to the origins of mankind, we can follow it back through Rome and Greece to the period of Homer and the early Greek poets, 700 B. C. There the history of our Indo-Germanic descent can be pursued no further. Our connection with our ancient brothers, the Sanscrit peoples of India, who can be traced back to 2000 B. C., is absolutely unknown. No influence either in religion or language can be shown.

Unable to trace human history in our own race, we must now cross into Asia and begin with the Semites, who gave their entire civilization to Greece and Rome and from whom we borrowed letters, methods of commerce, the arts, and, above all, our religion. Starting with Hebrews and Phoenicians we can trace them back to 1700 B. C., when they divorced themselves from their home in Mesopotamia and drifted towards the Mediterranean Sea. By means of a vast literature now in our possession, the history of the Babylonians can be traced to 4000 B.C. Here Semitic history breaks down and we find another race, the Sumerians, at the dawn of history, whom we can trace to 6000 B. C. The language of all these peoples can now be read by specialists in Oriental languages.

I shall endeavor to outline rapidly the major movements from the earliest times to Alexander the Great, who brought Western Asia under Greek influence; and to the period of the Maccabees, soon after which Jesus, the last of the Hebrew prophets, began to teach the Gospel of the Kingdom of Heaven.

As far as we are permitted to know the history of the world, civilization began in the Mesopotamian Valley at the head of the Persian Gulf. The valley is known to us by the Greek word Meso potamia, "between the rivers", or the Valley of the Two Rivers (Tigris and Euphrates). At the mouth of the Euphrates was built the city of the Water God, and here, according to tradition, grew the Tree of Knowledge, sacred to the Water God who was also god of oracles and wisdom. Legends of the Tree of Life are also extant in this ancient epoch, but whether it was supposed to have been at Eridu, or elsewhere, is not known. Here at Eridu civilization began at a period at least 8000 B. C., but we have no trace of inscriptions before 5000 B. C. These inscriptions come from a people known as the Sumerians. From the head of the Persian Gulf, they followed up the course of the river northward, building cities at intervals of 20 or 30 miles. The names of a few of these towns are: Ur where the moon god was worshipped, Larsa centre of the sun worship, Erech sacred to Nana a female deity, Nippur sacred to Bel, god of the earth, and Lagash sacred to the god of vegetation. Little is known about these early city states. They were continually at war with each other, and first one town and then the other ruled in this ancient community. Not only do we find these kings claiming rulership each over his fellow Sumerians but as early as 4500 B. C., they claimed to be kings of Elam on the east and of the lands by the western sea, that is, Phoenicia and Palestine.

This shows us how imperfectly we have hitherto understood human history. It had been supposed that civilization dated only from 4600 B. C., but here even at this period, is an advanced civilization ruling, from Greece to the Indes.

The Sumerians were the inventors of writing and the arts. By race they were perhaps connected with the Chinese. Their language is agglutinative and generally the words consist of one syllable with numerous prefixes for verbs and nouns. They called the east the land of the rising sun, the south the land of demons, the west the land of storms, and the north the land of direction.

In 4000 B. C., a new people appeared in the central part of the Mesopotamian Valley. These were the Semites, fathers of the Babylonians, Assyrians, Hebrew, Arabs, Arameans, and Phœnicians and destined to play an important role in history. At Sippar, north of Babylon, they established their first kingdom and contested the valley with the Sumerians in the South. For a 1000 years the battle between Semite and Sumerian went on until in 2800 B. C. we hear the last of the Sumerians. The Semites ruled

Asia from Sippar, their capital, having become heirs of the early civilization which they displaced. The Semites seem to have poured down into the valley from the deserts west of the Euphrates. They were nomads, ignorant of arts and letters. Coming into contact with the high civilization of the people whom they conquered, they were at once greatly influenced by them. They adopted their writing and much of their religion. Their legend of Paradise and the Tree of Life at Eridu, and the notion of carrying the gods in boats, derived from the coast-dwelling Sumerians, were also adopted by the Semites, and when the Hebrews later separated from their fathers they took with them the borrowed traditions of their race.

About 2500 B. C., the capital of the Semitic empire was changed to Babylon, a name which means " gate of God ". From 2500 to 2000 B. C. Babylon enjoyed a period of unparalleled prosperity, and ruled Asia from the Ararat Mountains to the Persian Gulf and from India to the Mediterranean Sea. It was the second golden age of mankind. The laws of the empire were carefully arranged, and inscribed on great stone pillars, one of which has been found by the French and is now at the Louvre. Palaces and temples were built in all the sacred cities, such as at Ur, Erech, Babylon and Sippar. Poetry and prose were carefully cultivated and the sciences of syntax and philology flourished. This is before we hear anything about China or India and 1700 years before the Siege of Troy.

After 2000 B. C. the Babylonian Empire began to decline. Invaders from Elam soon drove out the Semitic dynasty and ruled Babylonia for 1000 years. Important actors were now preparing to come upon the scene. Southern Babylonia had already witnessed the rise and decline of two empires. A branch of the Semites now founded a new empire further up the river at the town Ashshur. Hence the empire was known as Assyria. This branch of the Semites spoke the same language as the Babylonians and employed the same writing. Owing to the colder climate of northern Mesopotamia they became a more vigorous and warlike race than their brothers of the south. Pushing north, east, and west the Assyrian Empire by 1500 B. C., was master of upper Mesopotamia and prepared to dispute the Empire of Asia with Babylon.

While the Assyrians were slowly growing into a strong empire, in northern Mesopotamia between 1800 to 1500 B. C. a westward migration of Semitic peoples began which was destined to influence the entire history of mankind. The valley of the Tigris and Euphrates was now occupied by two populous empires, Babyolnia and Assyria. Despite the great fertility of the valley, it was no longer able to support the population. Assyria was ambitiously pushing out north, east and west. Babylonia in the south, centre already of 4000 years of civilization, discontented with a foreign dynasty, was now compelled to overflow the plains of western Asia. A great movement of wandering Semitic tribes began towards the Mediterranean. Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Phoenicians and Sons of Jacob crowded to the shores of the Mediterranean in great waves of migration. The advance guard was the Hebrews, then known as the Sons of Jacob. They swept down over the Lebanon Mountains, lingered awhile in Canaan where they established a sanctuary at Sheckem by the oak of Moreh, and finally, pressed by the Edomites, Moabites, and Hittites from behind, were driven southward across the Red Sea and finally into the land of Goshen in Northern Egypt. The Semitic migrations of the 17th and 18th centuries B. C. are very similar to the migrations of Gauls and Germans in the latter days of the Roman Empire. Pressed by migrations from the forest of Germany, some were driven into Spain and Africa; others into Britanny, Ireland and Scotland; while central France, Italy and Germany were occupied by stronger forces.

Egypt fell an easy prey to the invaders who founded the so-called Hyksos Dynasty, or Dynasty of the Shepherd Kings. The entire plain from Egypt to Asia Minor was thus occupied by roving Semitic or Hittite tribes who were left to precipitate themselves along the Mediterranean. The western coast fell to the Phoenicians and Philistines; the peninsula of Arabia to the Edomites; East Jordan to the Ammonites and Moabites; while Palestine, occupied by the ancient Canaanites was for the moment too strong to be seized by the invaders. As we have already noted, the Hebrews were carried on the crest of the advance wave beyond Sinai into northern Egypt. In the 14th and 13th centuries before Christ, Asia was in turmoil. Babylon, ancient centre of civilization and long mistress of the world, had relaxed into a state of lethargy and finally became a vassal state of Assyria in the north. Assyria herself, exhausted by wars with Hittites, Scythians, and Arameans, no longer made pretensions to hold the west countries under tribute. Egypt was in the hands of the Hyksos, and part of her country was occupied by the children of Jacob.

It is absolutely necessary to comprehend and appreciate the situation for it is a critical period in the history of the world. The three great empires Assyria, Babylonia, and Egypt, were for the moment unable to interfere with the destiny of those peoples who were dividing western Asia among themselves.

About 1300 B. C. Egypt drove out the foreign invaders and asserted its independence. The Hebrews were naturally among the first to be attacked by the reviving power of the Egyptians who were determined to thrust back into Asia the nomads, who four centuries before had swept down upon them from the north. The Hebrews, or Sons of Jacob, were driven out of Goshen across the headlands of the Red Sea and into the territory of the Horites and Edomites near Mt. Sinai. It seems that at this time their leader Moses adopted a god, Jahweh. His home was supposed to be on the top of Mt. Sinai and when the tribe changed its place of residence the invisible god resided in an ark which was carried with them. Falling in with a Sinaitic tribe called the Midianites, they seem to have absorbed much from them, and many think that the Jahweh religion was borrowed from them.

The desert of Arabia already occupied by Edomites, Horites and Arabian tribes, was a land of little promise for the vigorous tribes of Jacob. In the central part of the western plains lay Palestine, still occupied by the Canaanites who had been able to resist the first Semitic migrations of the 17th century. Upon this land the homeless Hebrews now set their eyes. Moving northward from Sinai across the territory of the Edomites, they at last arrived east of the Dead Sea and united with their brothers, the Moabites and Ammonites in a struggle against the aborigines, the Amorites, who still contested the land east of the Jordan. During the wars against the Amorites, and later, against the Moabites and Ammonites, several national songs were produced, found in Numbers XXI.

> « Enter into Heshbon,
> She shall be rebuilt and inhabited the city of [Sihon,
> A fire has gone out of Heshbon
> A flame from the city of Sihon
> Consuming Ar of Moab
> The Lords of the hills of Arnon »
> « Woe to thee oh Moab,
> Thou art perished oh people of Chemosh,
> One hath made his children fugitives
> And sent his daughters into captivity ».

The cities of Ammonite, Moabite and Amorite were conquered by fire and sword. Balaam, a seer of the wise men of Babylonia, was called to the aid of the Moabites, with the appeal « Come curse me Jacob », and,

XXII, 5. « Behold a people coming op out of Egypt
Covering the face of the earth ».

In the mouth of Balaam are put several national songs of the Hebrews.

XXIII. « How shall I curse whom god hath not cursed?
8/9
How shall I be wroth against whom God is not wroth ?
For from the top of the cliffs I see him.
From the hills I behold him. »
XXIII, 10. « Who can count the dust of Jacob
Or number the seed of Israel ?
Ah that my soul might die the death of Israel
And my latter end be as his. »

These early national songs are all that are preserved to us from the poetry of that early period, but they give us a clear idea of the warlike and adventurous spirit of this period of conquest.

In the 13th and 12th centuries B. C. they began the occupation of Canaan. Dividing

Palestine into several parts, each tribe began the conquest of his own territory. Within 200 years Palestine was wrested from the Canaanites who still held certain inaccessible sections only. Judah in the south was from the first separated from the tribes of the north and left to fight for itself. The principal centres at this early period were Shiloh, where the ark was placed, in the northern tribe of Ephraim, and Sichem at the oak of Moreh, already historic from the days of the early migrations and Hebrew centre of Judah in the south.

Attacked by Philistines from the west, Ammonites and Arameans from the north and east, the scattered tribes began to organize a national life for self-preservation. The period of the Judges marks this struggle for existence. Barek, first of the Judges, supported by the poetess Deborah, organized the tribes of the north against Sisera, the Canaanite. In a great battle at the brook Kishon, Hebrew possession of northern Palestine was assured. Of this event we have a national battle hymn known as the song of Deborah in Judges V.

This is perhaps the most stirring national anthem ever sung in any language.

Judges V[4], « Jahweh in thy goings forth from Seir
In thy marching forth from the field of Edom
The earth shook and the pillars of heavens trembled »
V[7] « Hamlets ceased in Israel, yea ceased
Until I Deborah arose in Israel
I arose a mother in Israel ».

Gideon, a later judge, at ophra a town in Ephraim, established a kingdom which lasted a few years. The land soon fell under the attacks of the Philistines and the ark itself was seized from Shiloh.

About the beginning of the 12th century B. C. Saul, a warrior of the tribe of Benjamin, most southern of the northern tribes, united all Israel and Judah in a war of deliverance against the Philistines. The war was successful, the ark restored to Shiloh, and the kingdom of the Hebrews at last united under a single ruler. Which town in northern Israel was made the capital of the new kingdom, is unknown, but it is certain that the royal line was begun in Benjamin and supported chiefly by the northern tribes. Soon after the death of

Saul, the kingdom was seized by David of Judah, the southern state, and the royal line passes to the south. A new site was now chosen for the capital in northern Judah on a hill between the valley of the brooks Kedron and Tyropoea. Its ancient name was Jerusalem, meaning « City of Peace ».

David must have begun to rule about 1000 B.C. He soon brought under his power not only Palestine but all Edom south to the Red Sea, Moab, Ammon, and Aramea, beyond Damascus and all Phoenicia. In other words, a new world power had arisen in western Asia at the beginning of the last millennium B.C., which rivaled Babylon, Assyria and Egypt. Egypt again prosperous was a dangerous rival on the south. Babylon on the east was still powerful but content with itself and peaceful. But Assyria, under a great king, Tiglathpileser, was becomming aggressive. Her armies were already engaged in subduing northern Syria and gaining a foothold for the Ninevites on the Mediterranean Sea. The Empire of David was, therefore, in a dangerous position between two hostile and aggressive rivals, Assyria on the north and Egypt on the south. Solomon, successor of David, was a man of peace, a student, poet and *amateur* of the arts. To support a luxurious court at Jerusalem, the kingdom was so heavily taxed that even cities and tracks of land were rented to the money making Phoenicians.

At his death in 937 B. C. the northern tribes rebelled. They felt that the line of David were usurpers, and that the royal house belonged to the North. After fifty years of extreme prosperity, the kingdom of Saul and David was shattered. Two kingdoms now arose, one at Samaria, known as the Kingdom of Israel, consisting of the Ten Northern tribes, and one at Jerusalem known as the Kingdom of Judah. The Northern Kingdom was soon attacked by a new empire founded by Rezon of Aramea north of the Lebanon Mountains. Wars were carried on for a century with Damascus, with varying success. Finally both Damascus and Samaria were attacked by Assyria and made to pay tribute to the kings of Nineveh. The Assyrians were advancing slowly and stealthily west and south. When a stand was needed against this dangerous empire on the Tigris the Hebrews and Arameans preferred to waste their energy in fighting among themselves. Wars between Judah and Samaria finally broke out. The king Pekah of Samaria rebelled against Assyria and, calling Rezon of Damascus to his support, attacked Jerusalem. Ahaz, king of the southern state, against the advice of Isaiah, the prophet, appealed to Assyria for aid. The Assyrians glad of an opportunity to meddle in the affairs of western Asia, marched on Damascus and Samaria, drove the army of northern Israel into Samaria and turned the territory into a desert. Samaria fell in 722 B. C. only 215 years after the division of the kingdom and the death of Solomon. The Ten Tribes were carried into exile.

The Assyrians were now masters of Asia. Conquerors of the northern kingdom and of Damascus, they demanded also the submission of Jerusalem at the request of whose king they had invaded the west. Jerusalem sent tribute and Ahaz, the king, even set up an Assyrian altar at the door of the Temple of Solomon. The great spirit of this age was Isaiah. His sermons are desperate appeals to the people to avoid meddling in the approaching conflict between Assyria and Egypt. The Assyrian was silently stretching out his hand across Asia; Damascus, Samaria, Tyre and Sidon, had fallen into his grasp.

In 701 Senecherib invaded the west with a great army to put down a coalition of Judah, Philistia and Egypt. Of his army Lord Byron has given a vivid description: « The Assyrian came down like a wolf on the fold, his cohorts were gleaming with purple and gold ». From the pen of Isaiah we have also a description of the invasion:

« The earth mourneth, Lebanon is torn down, Sharon is a wilderness, Woe to Ariel, city of David ».

In the stress of this troubled age the great preacher, Isaiah, laid the foundation for the real greatness of the Hebrew people. Asserting the inferiority of the material to the ethical and spiritual, he taught submission to the world power of Assyria, and purification of the inner life of the individual. « Render into Caesar that which is Caesar's and unto God that which is God's » is only a repetition of the ethics of Isaiah.

Egypt fell also before the arms of Assyria. During the years 700 to 625 B.C, Assyria ruled Western Asia from Nineveh. Babylon also recognized her as a sovereign. In the last years of the 7th century B.C. Assyria was suddenly attacked by the combined forces of Babylon and the Medes. In 606 B. C. Nineveh fell and the vast world power of Assyria broke into fragments. Egypt, seizing the opportunity, threw her armies into Western Asia and made Palestine and all the small western states subject to herself. But Babylon, after centuries of repose, suddenly asserted amazing vigor and life (1). Led by Nabopolassar, and his son Nebuchadnezzar they contested the empire of Asia with Egypt and drove the Egyptians from

---

(1) See the introduction to the writer's " Building Inscriptions of the Neo-Bab. Empire ". Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1905.

Asia. Jerusalem became a vassal state of Babylon. As in the days of Assyrian dominion a century before, so now again Judah sought to throw off the yoke of eastern oppression by forming an alliance with Égypt. Again another strong figure appears in history, Jeremiah, greatest of the Hebrew poets and preachers. With all his eloquence he advised submission to the world power of Babylon. Through his influence a code of laws known as the Book of Deuteronomy was formulated, local shrines were torn down and the Hebrew religion centered at Jerusalem. His influence on the events of the age is enormous and the poetry from his pen is the most lyrical and pathetic that has come to us from the Hebrews.

Nebuchadnezzar, exasperated by the rebellion of Jerusalem, sacked the city in 597 B.C. and carried the best of the Hebrews to Babylon. Eleven years later the city rebelled again. This time Nebuchadnezzar, thoroughly angered, invaded Judaea with fire and word. In 586 B.C. the Southern Kingdom, after an existence of 351 years, ceased to exist. Again a large number was carried to Babylon or scattered throughout the east. Foreigners seized the vineyards and farms of Judaea. A Babylonian official was installed at Jerusalem. The ark in which Jahweh had rested since the Exodus from Egypt, disappears from history. The Babylonians probably carried it away with their plunder.

The Hebrews as a people ceased to exist with the Exile, their fugitives were scattered in Egypt, Phoenicia, Greece and Babylonia. They are known henceforth as the *Disaspora* or the dispersion. When Babylon fell in 540 B.C. before the onslaught of Cyrus, the Mede, a struggling community of Jews again came to life at Jerusalem. In 520 B. C. the Temple was rebuilt. In 398 B. C. Ezra, the Scribe, returned from Babylon, and with Nehemiah, already there before him, reorganized the Jewish state as a vassal of Persia. To Ezra and the scribes who returned with him we owe the old Testament in its present form. Gathering the literary remains of their race they compiled the books known to us as the Law and the Prophets.

When Alexander the Great invaded Asia and brought the Persian Empire to an end, Jerusalem came under strong Greek influence.

After the death of Alexander and the division of his Empire, Jerusalem fell to the lot of the Ptolemies. Vassal governors gathered the taxes at Jerusalem for their lords, but the high priest of the Temple was really in these latter days the most important person in Judaism. No longer a political factor in the world's politics, the Jews became solely a religious community, pondering upon the problems of life, the salvation of the soul, and the Messianic Kingdom. At this period grew up their temple literature and their philosophy. Most of the prayer book known to us as the Psalter come from the singers of this period. Inpulse was given above all to the study of the law. Thus a pedantic but learned religious society took the place of the old kingdoms. Their mission was to conserve the treasures of their religion. The high priest had become heir to the throne of David.

LECTURE II

BABYLONIAN AND HEBREW LITERATURE

In the preceding lecture we have traced the principal currents of ancient Asiatic history which directly affected the Hebrews. We have seen how civilization arising among the Sumerians of Southern Babylonia at a period earlier than 5000 B. C. passed to the Semites who soon extended their sway over all of western Asia which people at last occupied the regions along the Mediterranean Sea from Egypt to Asia Minor. But it is not the wars and conquests of peoples, the rise and fall of states, that interests humanity. Our rapid sketch of the history of Sumerians, Babylonians, Assyrians and Hebrews was only to clear the ground for the study of the real value of this historical development. We turn now to the study of what these people have left us of permanent gifts to the advancement of mankind. What problems they solved, what beauty they sought after and obtained, what thoughts they have lived into the realities of human history. We shall examine therefore, first of all, the origin and progress of Semitic literature.

The Sumerians must have invented writing at a very early period for we have inscriptions from them as far back as 5000 B. C. Their writing was at first, probably, purely ideographic, that is, each sign represented an object, but in the earliest remains which we have, some signs had already become mere phonetic syllables having lost all connection in sense with original ideographic values. Many of the signs, however, retained their likeness to the original object, even down to the last days of Sumerian dominion, about 2800 B. C. They began to scratch their signs on smooth stones in columns beginning on the upper left hand corner. Soon the writer turned the stone to the right, so that he might write more handily upon it. Thus began the system of writing from left to right. Other peoples turning the stone toward the left were forced to write from right to left, but to my knowledge no ideographic language is written from right to left.

The literature of this early period from 5000 to 2500 B. C. is written almost entirely upon stone. The most important before 4000 B. C. is the Stele of Vultures, now in the Louvre. It is a stone slab originally about 7 feet high, resembling a modern tomb stone. In a series of tableaux in bas-relief on each side a king Eannatum of Lagash represents his conquests of *Gish Hu.* The scribe has covered every available surface not occupied by bas-relief with a history of the war and the treaty of peace arranging the boundary lines between the states. The slab was in my opinion set up for a boundary stone on the dividing line.

The literary remains that have come to us from this period are not extensive. The kings have left us historical inscriptions of considerable length written upon cones of marble or a fine quality of stone. Many bricks with historical inscriptions have been preserved. Most interesting are the inscriptions on the heavy stone supports of the door posts of temples. Two inscriptions both alike were always inscribed on the foot of each door post, so that the worshipper passing the portals of the temple might read ot the piety of the royal builder. Here is a sample of the very earliest door-sill inscriptions.

> « To the god Ningirsu
> the hero of
> the god Bel,
> Uru-kagina
> the king of Shirpurla,
> has built
> Antashura
> temple of abundance of his land. »

Before 3000 B. C. no important literary works were produced. The invention and development of writing were the great contributions. Starting with about 200 original signs, they soon developed many compound signs. This system passed to the syllabic and phonetic stage, so that it was capable of becoming the mode of conveying most varied types of thought and expression. Their historical in–

scriptions are indeed works of art and extremely important for the information that they give of the origin of human civilization.

When the Semites invaded Mesopotamia and established themselves in this ancient Sumerian civilization, they adopted at once the Sumerian method of writing, and most of their language. In fact the fathers of the Hebrews spoke a mixed language; writing their own language with the borrowed Sumerian signs they took over scores of Sumerian words. Semitic writing became like Sumerian, half ideographic and half syllabic. If a sign stood for house in Sumerian, the same sign stood for house in Babylonian. The sign also kept its old Sumerian phonetic values to which many new ones were added. Thus it was necessary for a child to learn both Sumerian, a dead language, as well as Babylonian. The Semites always felt a great reverence for the ancient people from whom they had borrowed letters, arts and much of their religion. Sumerian language and signs were sacredly taught and fostered in the Babylonian and

Assyrian schools down to the very end of the Babylonian Empire.

Soon after 3000 B. C. a remarkable literary movement began with which commences the history of Semitic literature. The Semitic scribes now began to study Sumerian and to prepare grammatical works, explaining words and signs. They also put into writing the great legends of the past, the wonderful deeds of gods and heroes, which probably had been handed down orally for ages as the songs which now compose our Odessy and the Iliad were sung for generations before they were put into writing.

Two great Semitic epics were written in twelve books or tablets : The Epic of Gilgamesh and the epic of Creation. Gilgamesh a legendary hero, delivers Erech, the city of the goddess Ishtar. Ishtar or Nana (1), as was her original name, was the Venus of Semitic mythology and goddess of vegetation. Ishtar fell in love with a human hero Gilgamesh, but legends declared that whosoever loved Ishtar was doomed to destruction, Tammuz, her first love, was compelled by her to descend each autumn into the dark regions of Sheol or the under world. And knowing this Gilgamesh rejected the love of Ishtar. The epic at this point is very beautiful :

---

(1) The original name was *Innina*, see Th. Dangin ISA, p. 25 note 7.

« Tammuz the companion of thy youth
Thou causest to weep each year
The bright allalu bird thou didst love
And lo thou crushest him and breakest his pinions.
In the forest he sits lamenting « Alas my pinions. »

Enraged at this, Ishtar prayed her father, Anu, to send a monster bull to destroy Gilgamesh. But Gilgamesh slew the bull with the aid of his companion Eabani. Here the epic has :

« Ishtar mounts the walls of Erech,
Enraged she utters the curse,
« Cursed be Gilgamesh who has angered me
He who has killed the divine bull ».

In revenge, Ishtar sent sickness to Eabani, companion of Gilgamesh. He died in horrible agony. Gilgamesh himself was afflicted with a lingering disease by the baffled goddess. The epic at this point is particularly powerful. Gilgamesh wails for Eabani :

> « I would not die like Eabani
> Sorrow has entered my frame, »

The hero wanders about the world in quest of health :

> « I came to a cave by night
> Lions I saw and was fearful.
> He came to the Mashu mountains
> Where scorpions guard the gates. »

Beyond the Mashu mountains and across the sea lived the only man who had escaped the great primeval flood, the Hebrew Noah, called by the Babylonians Sit-Napishtim. Gilgamesh is ferried accross the sea by a boatman :

> « Oh boatman which is the way to Sit-Napistim ? »
> « Oh Gilgamesh, no one has yet made such a passage
> No one has ever crossed the ocean
> Who but the sun god can cross it ?
> After thou hast crossed the waters of death what wilt thou do ! »

When Gilgamesh arrives at the home of Noah he is told the story of the flood, and how Sit-Napistim (Noah) escaped in an ark.

I shall not follow the epic to the end : this analysis will give an idea of the literature of this early period before the Hebrews were separated from their early parents, the Babylonians. The Epic of Creation is equally beautiful. A great mass of magical texts arose based upon early Sumerian texts. These give directions for enchanting evil demons, witches, etc. Many tablets give directions for taking oracles by inspecting the sacrifices, by pouring water on oil, etc. Numerous psalms and hymns were written which resemble the hymns and prayers of the later Hebrews. Compare with Penitential Psalm 6 the following Babylonian Penitential Psalm :

> « I thy servant full of sorrow cry into thee
> Thou dost receive the prayers of the sinful
> If thou lookest favorably on one, he shall live.
> Oh lord of all, merciful one, who turns unto thee doeth well. »

An important part of this early literature pertains to laws and private contracts. Numberless small tablets exist of bargains and affairs between individuals. Here is an example from a tablet in the British Museum. Its date is about 2300 B. C. :

« Mar-Ishtar has been adopted by Iltam and

Nidnat-Sin. If Mar-Ishtar say to his mother, Iltam, or his father, Nidnat-Sin : you are not my mother or my father, he shall be sold for money. If the parents say to Mar-Ishtar : 'you are not our son', he shall receive his share of the inheritance along with the other children ». Before 12 witnesses, signed by a scribe.

Before 2000 B. C. great codes of laws were written showing marvelous skill in treating legal subjects.

By this time the writing borrowed from the Sumerians was greatly changed. Fortunately for us, in the prolific literature of this period grammar and philology were not forgotten. Long lists of signs were composed, giving their sounds and meanings, and even tablets have come to us as they existed in the schools for children.

Writing had developed by 2000 B. C. into the so-called Cuneiform signs. In writing upon stone the early peoples made their signs with straight or curved lines. Later, when the Babylonians began to produce literature in great quantities, stone was found both too precious and too obdurate to write upon, so that soft clay was substituted. When a document was finished, the clay was baked in an oven or dried in the sun. Owing to the softness of the clay the stylus of the scribe made a heavier impression at the place where it entered the clay than when it was removed, so that the lines looked like small wedges. This writing is therefore called Cuneiform.

The kings of Assyria were the great historians of Cuneiform literature. They loved to inscribe the bulls at the palace gates, the doors and pillars of their buildings, with accounts of their reigns. Some reigns are recorded on beautiful prisms and from a literary point of view, are the best historical productions of antiquity before Thucydides. We are accustomed to regard Herodotus as the father of history, but really both Assyrians and Babylonians knew how to write history much better than he. For example, the ten-sided prism of Ashurbanipal 660 to 625 B. C., preserved in the British Museum, is the most ably and well-written document of antiquity. The last kings of Babylon adopted a method of writing on cask-shaped cylinders. The prayers at the end of these historical documents are especially beautiful. Of Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar says :

« Under the shadows of her wings I gathered all men in peace ».

In a prayer to the goddess of life he says :

« May thy lips speak of my pious deeds, life unto far-off days and gray hairs grant as thy gift (1) ».

During all the history of the Hebrews this same literature was produced in great quantities at Babylon and Nineveh.

In the first lecture we have traced the beginning of the Hebrews, showing how they migrated in the 17th and 16th centuries B. C. into northern Egypt and how in the 14th century B. C. they were again forced northward and compelled to conquer a home for themselves in the only region left unoccupied by their kindred tribes. This was the heroic age of the Hebrews, and naturally here begin their ballads and national songs. It is not likely that any of these tribes which formed the great migration (Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Philistines and Hebrews) knew how to write at all, although Cuneiform writing was used throughout the entire west country and even in Egypt. If the Hebrews were acquainted with the Cuneiform writing of their early home in Babylonia, they at any rate never wrote their early poetry or legends in that script; although as their religion and literature show, they carried west with them the same ideas of creation, paradise, and the spirit of psalm literature which we have seen flourishing at an early date in the Mesopotamian Valley.

---

(1) For a translation into English of all these inscriptions see BINE.

In our sketch of Semitic literature we now reach the most important event in human history, the invention of the alphabet. To which of the Semitic tribes belongs the honour of representing single sounds by single signs capable of being combined into any combination of sounds possible, no one will probably ever know. It may just as well have been the Hebrews as the Phoenicians. At any rate, in the reigns of David and Solomon 1000? to 937 B. C., small books of poetry and legendary history began to appear. Songs that had been sung in the tents of the scribes during their wars of conquest and the heroic age of the Judges were now collected. These were beyond all doubt written on parchment and with an alphabet. We have left to us the names of two of these early collections. The Book of the Wars of Jehovah and the Book of Jashar (the Just). Of the Books of the Wars of Jahweh not a single extract remains. In Numbers XXI. 14 an early historian says that he has taken his account of the invasion of Moab from the Book of the Wars of Jahweh. It is probable that much which we read in the Hexateuch about the heroic age is taken from this same book. Of the book of early Hebrew songs known as the Book of Jashar, we have three small passages left to us.

One of the historic battles of the age of conquest was at the city of Gibeon in southwestern Palestine when five kings of the south joined in a desperate effort to ward off the Hebrew invasion. Legends and songs of this battle in the valley of Gibeon must have been widely spread among the tribes, how stones fell from Heaven upon the fleeing enemy, how Joshua commanded the sun to stand until he might have time to annihilate the foe. The Book of Jashar contained the song of Joshua from which is found in Joshua X, 12 + 13, a trimeter poem of four lines :

« Oh sun on Gibeon rest
And moon in the Valley ot Ajjalon.
And the sun rested and the moon stood
Until the people had avenged their toes ».

David's lament over Saul and Jonathan II Sam. I, 18-27 was a popular national anthem, and perhaps the best poem of its kind in Hebrew :

« I am distressed for thee, Jonathan, my brother
Thou wast a comfort unto me oh most exceedingly.
Thy love for me was more than the love of women.
How are the mighty fallen
And the weapons of war perished ! »
« Saul and Jonathan the beloved and the lovely
In life and death they were not divided. »

Before the end of the tenth century (1) two short histories had been compiled, probably under the reign of David. One of these in the tribe of Judah attempted to write Hebrew history from the Creation and Fall of Man down to the time of the Judges. It is in this document that we have preserved to us the Babylonian ideas of creation, paradise and the flood. Hebrew literature found its first great master in this early historian. To him we owe the powerful pictures of Genesis II-IV propounding the origin of sin, the fall of man and the relation of man to man. From him we have the tradition of the origin of the Hebrews at Ur of the Chaldees, their history as he knew it from Abraham to Isaac. The migration to Egypt and subsequent history to the conquest of Canaan. He was the first historian of the Hebrews, the first real thinker, and perhaps the most entertaining writer of the Old Testament. Should you care to examine sections of his work, read Genesis

---

(1) The writer holds that the two early sources of Hebrew literature know as the J and E documents were not composed by single hands but are compilations beginning as early as the reign of David.

II-IV, XVIII, XXIV, Exodus IV. He is known as the J writer of the Hexatuech.

A little later another short history of the Hebrews appears, probably from one the reign of Solomon, but written by some of the northern tribes. This writer begins his history, not with the creation, of the world but with the life of Abraham. Like his predecessor of the south, he ends his history with the death of Joshua and the conquest of Palestine. He is known as the E writer.

Naturally these two primitive historians have preserved in their histories, hymns and songs of the heroic age which existed as common tradition. Thus the J writer preserves for us the blessing of Jacob in Genesis XLIX. Moses' Song of Triumph at the crossing of the Red Sea in Exodus XV has been preserved for us by the E writer. This song must have been a national anthem among the Hebrews. It is written in a measure suggesting triumph and conquest.

The most important literary remains of the heroic age of the Hebrews is the code of the

Ten Commandments preserved to us by the writer in Exodus XX together with a fairly adequate compilation of early Hebrew legislation in Exodus XX-XXIII and XXXII-XXXIV(1). These chapters are doubtlessly the most important in the whole Bible for they give us an idea of Hebrew law and social regulation from 1400 to 800 B. C. Moreover, they are the foundation of all subsequent Hebrew legislation and have influenced all Christian nations.

It is probable that court historians kept annals of the reigns of kings at Samaria and Jerusalem as long as the kingdoms existed and also that rolls were prepared in the ninth and eighth centuries recounting the stories of the Judges, the history of Samuel and the beginning of the kingdom under Saul and David.

We now find a new development in Hebrew literature. It is the rise of the prophets who began delivering moral and philosophical sermons in the kingdoms. The earliest of these preachers, Elijah and Elisha of the middle of the ninth century preached in the Northern Kingdom. Of their sermons none was committed to writing, so far as we know. One hundred years later in the middle of the eighth century appear two remarkable preachers and poets in the Northern Kingdom, Amos and Hosea. Amos is the first of the prophets whose poems and sermons have come down to us. It is likely that he wrote his own literary works. In the nine chapters which form our present book of Amos there are many notes and glosses which do not belong to the original work. In comparison with the literature of early peoples, one is impressed in these sermons of the prophets by the rigor of their poetical measures and their strong antagonism to unrighteousness. In power and vigor of expression Amos may be compared to Euripides, but the passionfor pure living, the consciousness of being impelled by divine destiny to stand, if it need be, alone, for righteousness, apart from ritual and tradition, mark the rise of Hebrew prophetic literature as unique among all the literatures of antiquity.

---

(1) The *Ten Commandements* are considerably later that the code in XX, 22 — XXIII, 19.

Amos is the first among the prophets to speak in parables. In chapter VIII we have the following riddle:

« The Lord caused me to look and lo a basket ot figs. And he said, what seest thou, Amos? And I said: A basket of fruits of autumn and Jahweh said to me The autumn is come for my people Israel, I will no longer forgive them. »,

Here is a pun made on the word for the fruits of autumn (kajitz) and autumn (kãtz) which is lost in translation. Another pun is used in VII [7].

« The Lord caused me to look and behold he stood on the wall and in his hand an awl. He said to me ; What seest thou, Amos? And I said, " An awl " And he said; Behold I place an awl in the heart of my people Israel. »

Among the fine lines wich we have from Amos I shall cite but this VI [12],

« Can war steeds race upon the mountains
Or can the sea be ploughed with oxen,
That ye exchange justice for bitterness
And the fruits of righteousness for wormwood? »

meaning that it is as stupid to try one as the other.

In Hosea, the second of Israel's poets and prophets, we find the sermons less smooth and rhetorical than those of Amos. His sentences are abrupt, bold and disconnected. In this respect he resembles Aeschylus of the Greeks.

From Hosea comes the remarkable figure of calling Israel the Bride of Jahweh. This symbol of marriage between God and the Hebrews was used also a century and a half later by Ezekiel and has gone over into Christianity as the Church being the bride of Christ. The Hebrew writers from his day never ceased to regard national vice under the figure of adultery. The nation was the bride of God, sin was adultery. The entire book is so filled with bitterness, anger and despair, that one finds no comfort in reading his verses. Of his stern verses the following is a good example,

VIII[7] « Wind they sow and storms they reap.
They are a stalk without leaf that yields no corn,
If they toil, strangers devour their fruits. »

The preaching of Amos and Hosea was followed by that of Micah and Isaiah in the latter part of the eighth century. Micah was rather a poet and writer than a preacher. His sermons are better adapted for being read than being spoken. The *Mashal* or proverb is used by Micah in the famous pun II[4].

« Men shall lament saying
They measure the inheritance of my people with a measuring line
And no one giveth back.
Our fields are allotted to our captors
And we go down to ruin. »

From Micah himself we have very little. Of the seven chapters which compose his book the last three were added to his manuscript by a much later writer. In the first four chapters there are numerous glosses.

The literature of the Hebrews was enriched in the latter part of the eighth century by the preaching of Isaiah. During his life-time, the Judean state was swept by storms of political and moral adversity. The Northern Kingdom at Samaria passed out of existence. The same Assyria was also laying toils for Judaea. The sermons of Isaiah seem to have been collected at first into a series of little books before being united into a larger volume. Thus chapters I-XII consisted of five little books of sermons, all in trimeter Naturally various scribes took occasion to add notes to these fragments so that when at last the sermons of Isaiah were compiled they contained much which belongs to a later age. In our present Isaiah there is nothing from him after the XXXIV chapter although there are sixty-six chapters in the book.

The book of Isaiah is not remarkable from a literary point of view (1). The expressions are strong, the Hebrew pure and classical, but as works of art they are not equal to the poems of Micah. The greatness of Isaiah must be sought in different lines. As a statesman and thinker, much more will be said of him in the sixth and seventh lectures when we study the religion and ethics of the Hebrews. Nevertheless, I cannot pass on without quoting a few famous passages from this prophet :

VI [3] (The song of the Seraphim about the throne of Jahweh)
« Holy, Holy Jahweh of Sabaoth
All the world is full of his glory. »

---

(1) This criticism pertains only to the real Isaiah in chapters I-XXXIV.

It may be interesting to know that in the early Christian Greek church at the commemoration of the Lord's supper, the first prayer of the celebration of the mass ended with this refrain taken from Isaiah. The same thing is preserved in our Prayer Book.

The passage on Egypt is also famous :

> « Woe to the land of the shadow of wings
> That sendeth messengers by the sea
> Over the waters in ships of reeds. »

With the passing of Isaiah soon after the close of the eighth century, we have no prophet or historian for half a century. Toward the end of the seventh century under the inspiration of Jeremiah a school of reformers introduced a new code of laws to supersede the ancient code of Exodus XX-XXIII. This school produced the book of Deuteronomy and chapters XVII–XXVI of Leviticus. It is likely that it gathered the fragments of Hebrew literature and edited them in books. Up to this time Hebrew literature existed only in scattered parchments of songs, histories and sermons. It is likely that the books of Judges and Samuel were combined by this school of Jeremiah about 625 to 600 B.C. The poems of Jeremiah were written and edited by his secretary Baruch (1).

In conclusion we shall review hastily the literary movement of the Exile. When the Jewish state came to an end in 586 B.C. and the Jews went into captivity at Babylon they possessed but a fragmentary literature. The early histories of J and E were probably compiled into a single parchment and the originals lost. The early collections of songs had perished, the sermons of the prophets existed scattered about in the hands of various priests and private individuals. During the Exile an unknown author produced chapters XL-LV of Isaiah. His manuscript is added to the sermons of the great prophet by later compilers. Ezekiel preached and wrote theological treatises. After the Exile on the return of the Jews under Nehemiah and Ezra, a new literary movement began in the fourth and fifth centuries. A priestly school of writers arose who would have the state an absolutely religious community. The ancient code of laws were deemed insufficient and an entirely new system was promulgated, displacing Exodus XX-XXIII and Deuteronomy. These laws are now found in the latter part of Exodus, Leviticus I-XVI and in Numbers. To gain authority for these laws, the scribes pretended them to be sermons of Moses.

---

(1) The relation of Jeremiah to the Deuteronomic reform is a mooted question. Many hold that Deuteronomy is Post Exilic and that Jeremiah in any case could have had nothing to do with its promulgation. Especially would he have been opposed to the centralization of worship at Jerusalem, according to those who deny him any part in the Deuteronomic reform.

This school now undertook the task of writing a great history of the Hebrew people. To show from the creation of the world to their own time their divine descent. Taking the early histories of J and E which had been combined before the Exile, they added them to a history of their own, thus producing Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Joshua which is now known as the Hexateuch, or history of the world to the conquest of Canaan. They reedited the history of Judges and Samuel and put together the history of the two kingdoms, thus bringing the history of the Hebrews down to the Exile. The prophetical literature appears to have been gathered together even later in the third century to which period belong most of the psalms. The causes which produced our Bible as it is to-day will be discussed in the last two lectures.

We have now traced the evolution of this literature from the first feeble attempts of man to express his thoughts upon stone. One who has any comprehension of the struggles of humanity to express the divinity within itself must be stirred with emotion and even to tears when he stands in the presence of these ancient records upon which man has painfully toiled to tell us about himself.

LECTURE III

MANNERS AND SOCIAL CUSTOMS OF THE BABYLONIANS AND HEBREWS

In the preceding lecture we have seen how closely allied are the literatures of the Babylonians and Hebrews. The principles of poetic expression formulated in ancient Babylonia 3000 B. C. remained unchanged. The method of recording history by writing annals of the reigns of Babylonian, Assyrian and Hebrew kings has been clearly demonstrated as well as the peculiar habit of writing history by compiling earlier documents into a single document.

Purposely are omitted from the lecture on literature the most interesting and important documents, namely, the legal literature of these peoples. A few clay tablets and stone seals have been exhibited to give an idea of their method of writing rather than to study them as literary remains. The manners and customs of peoples naturally become laws. Therefore, in order to describe their social ideas, we must resort to their legal literature of which we fortunately have a great amount preserved in the inscriptions of Babylonia and in the Old Testament. In fact no branch of human history can be so successfully studied on its social side as that which occupies our attention in these lectures.

From the ancient Sumerians we have fragments of codes of Family Laws but not enough to enable us to describe their society accurately. From one of the tablets we have the following law upon the relation between parents and children :

« If a son say to his father : 'Thou art not my father', he shall cut off his hair, make him a slave, and sell him for money. If a son say to his mother : 'Thou art not my mother', she and can cut off his hair, drive him out of town or from home. If a father say to his son : 'Thou art not my son', the son must leave home and field. If a mother say to her son : 'Thou art not my son', he shall leave home and lodging. »

Thus we see that parents had absolute power to disinherit their children in the very earliest times The mother had equal power with the father to drive the child from home, while the father might even sell his children into slavery. However, little more can be said about ancient Sumerian society because the inscriptions which have come to us are nearly all dedicatory inscriptions of the kings, and accounts of wars or the building of temples.

From the very earliest period about 4000 B.C. to the end of Sumerian civilization about 2700 B.C. we possess unlimited material for studying the commercial life of ancient Babylonia. Here for instance is one of the oldest official documents in the world (1).

« One female slave, by name *Ginar-tapaddan* (2), *Zanini* has sold to *Nitah-Nin-*

---

(1) Th. Dangin, Tablettes Chaldéennes n° 16.
(2) The name means « Enchanted by the sacred chariot ».

girsu (1), daughter of the king and wife of the priest of *Ningirsu*. *Zanini* has received the price, ten shekels of pure gold and 120 pennies. The daughter of *Zanini* has received *three pecks of vegetables and two pecks of victuals*. *Gir-ni-ba-ku*, the merchant, *Amar-ezen* father-in-law of the priest, *Shul-dumu* (2), the seer, *Ur-ëzida* (3), the chief servant (4), *Enna-na*, custom's officer, *Kitillana-lumepi* (5), the scribe, *Eni-ga-sud* (6), the custom's officer, *Dam-dingirmu*, slave of the priest, *Nam-mahni* the gardener, *Sheshki-sig-dugli*, these are the witnesses. In the future days if a plaintiff utter evil words, let him be slain by a weapon for his words. At that time *Entemena* was lord of *Shirpurla* and *Enlitarri* was priest of the god *Ningirsu*. »

This document gives a good idea of a business transaction 4000 years B. C. The wife of the priest buys and sells with the same privileges as a man. The curious custom of giving a small gift over and above the price paid is characteristic of such transactions from the first period of which we have any information. The custom existed in Babylonian law to the Persian period. Most scholars think that the custom of the buyer's giving a small sum more than the price was to defray the expense of having the document drawn up. The writer believes on the contrary that it is the remnant of the primitive methods of trade before money came into existence. In very early times men simply exchanged one *thing* for another *thing*. Finally when the buyer could use money for obtaining what he wished he added a small gift of some commodity so as not to rob the transaction entirely of its ancient aspect as an exchange of things. Later this commodity was also changed to money (1).

---

(1) *Ningirsu*, chief god of the pantheon in ancient Lagash one of the oldest towns in the world. Excavated by the French.

(2) Name means « Well nigh a hero ».

(3) Name means « Devotee of the faithful temple ».

(4) Sumerian title of this witness is difficult; it means literally « *the youth who gives the first time which I understand to mean* « *chief cup bearer* » or something of the kind.

(5) Name means « With his life is the magician ».

(6) Name means « His house will have long life ».

Ancient Sumerian temple libraries have

(1) Neo-Bab. phrase for the *rade-gift* was *ki-i pi-iatri*.

been found, in which the records for the palace and temple estates were kept. Each temple (and there were as many as 8 or 10 in each city) had large tracts of land, often as much as one or two townships, which were worked by hired labor.

We possess the book keeping department of many temple estates giving the exact measurement of each over-seer's part, the grain required to sow it, the number of oxen to plough it, and the expenses for hired help etc. So far as the writer knows these vast temple and public estates which must have occupied at least one-third of the land of the state, did not possess slaves. The workmen were hired and paid in grain and other commodities. Certain portions of these estates supported the standing army. Other portions paid the public expenses of the palaces and temples. The king and his chief officials had each his estate from which he was supported.

Thus an ancient community, so far as we know the organization of the first city states, paid no taxes for the support of the government. It is doubtful whether religious taxes for the temples existed for individuals. The idea was that the land belonged to the gods and their chosen ruler the king. Therefore sufficient land was allotted to all the gods and to the government to support them and the people took what was left (1).

When we reach the great period of Babylonian culture in the 25th to the 20th centuries B. C., we have a great mass of contracts and letters by which to describe early society. After this period we have contracts or laws from nearly every epoch to the 4th century before Christ so that we shall now trace each phase of Babylonian and Hebrew society separately from 2500 B. C. to the Persian period.

---

(1) The writer intends to treat the subject of Sumerian Law and Social customs in a separate work. As yet the subject has not been written upon although a great deal of material is available. Tablettes from Sumerian archives are scattered all over the world. Nearly every antiquity dealer has quantities for sale. The most important publications of such tablets are, Thureau-Dangin, *Recueil de Tablettes Chaldéennes*. George Reisner, *Tempel-Urkunden aus Telloh* and Hugu Radau *Early Babylonian History* (Appendix.) Numerous smaller publications exist, notably those of Thureau-Dangin in *Revue d'Assyriologie*. No one except the last named scholar has yet made profound studies in this department: the writer is greatly indebted to him in many ways.

It seems preferable for popular presentation to pursue a single phase of life throughout its development rathen than to discuss each period separately. Inasmuch as the development of the literature has already been given it will be needless to describe further the literary forms of contracts or laws or to give their dates.

In regard to the relation of parents to children, interesting is the following clay tablet from about 2400 B. C. :

« Belit-nesi and Sin-ahi-idinam have rented for cutting the harvest, Ur-Ningirsu from his father Baia, and Shamas-simani, from his mother Samazu for ten days. They shall pay to each of them one *Gur* of wheat according to the measure of Shamash at the granary of Sippar. If they do not come they shall pay a tax to the king. »

Shamash-nisu is their guarantee. This contract is drawn up before *Sattu* and *Shamas-Satum* in the year when the throne of the moon god was erected (1).

---

(1) Meissner A. P. R. 57. Peiser KB4. p. 46 No. II. Bu. 88-5-12, 734/44.

According to this contract the boys earn one Gur of wheat or nearly six bushels.

On another tablet we read, « When Nakimu troubles the heart of Haliatum his mother, she shall deny him sonship » (1).

However, the great law code of Hammurabi represents an advance upon the earlier ideas of the relation of parents and children. The law reads, « If any one seek to drive away his son and declare to the judges: 'I will drive away my son', then shall the judges try his reasons. If the son have committed no grievous sin which justifies his being rejected as a son, then the father must not reject him ».

« If he have committed a grievous sin, then he shall be pardoned the first time. Upon a second offense the father may reject his son ».

In primitive Hebrew society the father seems to have had absolute control over his children The story of Abraham and Isaac goes to prove that the parent might slay his own child if the occasion demanded. Among the early laws we find : « He that maketh light of his father or mother shall die ». (1)

---

(1) CT, 8, 49, 16 ff.

Many centuries later the following law was enacted by Josiah :

« If a man have a stubborn and rebellious son listening neither to the voice of his father or mother, then they shall bring him to the elders of the community at the gate of that city. And they shall say to the elders : This is our stubborn and rebellious son who listens not to our voice ; a drule and a drunkard is he. Then all the men of the city shall stone him that he die. » Even to the very last days of Hebrew society the same severe penalty existed against disrespect for parents. In the Book of Proverbs, only four centuries before Jesus, occurs the proverb :

« The eye that mocks the father
And scorns the old age of a mother
The ravens of the valley shall pick it out
And vultures shall eat it. » (2)

In the early period a father might sell his daughter to an husband as a concubine.

(1) Exodus, XXI, 17.
(2) Proverbs, XXX, 17.

Thus is seen how much emphasis the Babylonians and the Hebrews put upon the authority of the father and mother in the family, and it is especially noteworthy that the mother occupies a place of extreme importance in the family life. Far superior is her position among the ancient Semitic peoples to that among the Greeks and Romans.

Marriage and Divorce among the Babylonians were regulated by many definite and interesting laws. The future husband arranged for his wife with the father of the girl, not with the girl herself. At the time of the engagement, the man gave to the father a small sum of money as guarantee of his good faith to keep his engagement. Here is a law from the Hammurabi Code which explains itself:

« If one deposit the marriage gift in the house of his future father-in-law and later the father-in-law say, ' I will not give you my daughter ', then he must give back all that has been given him. »

If the man failed to keep his engagement, he lost his marriage gift which the father-in-law kept. The father-in-law also gave a sum of money or some property to the man at the marriage which was always more than the man gave to the father-in-law.

Thus an engagement in Babylonia was bound by exchange of property. At the time of marriage the husband gave the bride a considerable gift in money or property which became the possession not of the wife but of the children. In case there were no children the wife might enjoy the interest on her marriage dowry, or might be divorced and compelled to cede the dowry to the husband's estate. In other words, marriage is regarded as a civil contract in which each person retains his or her original identity.

Marriage laws, however, seemed to have changed greatly in the course of the development of Babylonian society. Emphasis was placed more and more upon the necessity of a large gift from the father-in-law to the bridegroom. Here is a curious clay tablet from Babylonia recording the receipt of the marriage gift by the bridegroom.

« This money the marriage gift of Tabluttu daughter of Iddin-Nabu the blacksmith, Nidinti-Marduk, son of Itti-Nabu-balatu an official and the hushand of Tablutu, has received from his father-in-law, Idin-Nabu, the black smith, in addition to previous securities.

Witnesses : Ikisha-Marduk and Iddin-Nabu sons of Suzubu etc.

Fresquently the father-in-law was too poor to pay off the heavy sum needed to insure his daugther a confortable living. Thus we have many clay tablets telling how the father-in-law has at last paid up the marriage gift to the husband. A tablet in the Berlin Museum from the time of Cyrus the Great gives the following curious state of affairs :

« These slaves are the rest of the slaves of the dowry of Sira, daugther of Nabu-Ban-zir the blacksmith, taken from the inheritance of the son of Nabu-Ban-zir. Nabu-nadin-shum and his wife Sira have received them from the hands of the son of Nabu-ban-zir.

Witnesses : Marduk-shakin-shum, the blacksmith.
Bel-ahi-iddin the blacksmith
Bel-ahi-irba the blacksmith

> Ikisha-Marduk, the scribe and sealsman of the city gate. Given at Babylon 22nd. of Nisan (April 2nd), 7th. year of Cyrus, king of Babylon, king of all nations. »

Thus we see that a father had died before the daugther was settled in marriage. The law provided that the daugther must receive her dowry in marriage from the estate which was administrated by her brothers. Fortunately among the tablets which have come from Babylonia we have found the very marriage contrat in which the brothers of Sira settle upon her the necessary dowry for her to marry and marry her to an husband. This is so interesting that I shall give it here :

« The sons of Nabu-ban-zir the blacksmith, of their own free will give in marriage their sister Sira to Nabu-nadin-shum of the firm Gahal. One *Gan* of land beside the canal Aplu at the gate of the Temple of Shamash in the suburbs of Babylon; two female slaves, one bed, one foot-stool, one table for the dining-room, together with their sister Sira have they given to Nabu-nadin-shum. Whosoever makes a complaint or remonstrance against this agreement may the gods Marduk and Zarpanit command his destruction. »

There were present at the sealing of this tablet Irba-Marduk son of Shamas of the firm Rabsha-Belit, and four witnesses. Lu-utzi-ana-nuri-Marduk is the scribe of this tablet. Dated, Babylon, the 13th of the month Arahshamna (October) in the 16th year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon.

Among the Baylonians a man could have only one wife, but any number of concubines was permitted. A concubine might be divorced upon the slightest provocation but the legitimate wife only because of childlessness or grave offences. Here is a tablet of divorce from 2400 B. C.

« Shamash-Rabi has divorced Naramtu. She has received an account of the reason and received her money of divorce. If Naramtu marry another husband, Shamash-Rabi will make no complaint. They have sworn by Shamash, Malkat, and Marduk (four witnesses and the scribe) ».

In case of divorce the husband must give back the gift made by the father-in-law as well as the dowry. In case there be children, the divorced wife drew interest on the estate of the children until they were of age, when she inherited from the estate an equal portion with the children. Here is a law from the Hammurabi Code which explains itself :

« If a wife quarrel with her husband and say : you cannot agree with me, then her reasons for damage must be tested. If she be blameless and her, husband leave the house and abandon her then she shall receive her dowry and return to her father's house. But if she be to blame and abandon her husband and squander the property, that woman shall be thrown into the water (1). »

A most interesting tablet in the British Museum is the following :

« Ahhu-ajabu has been given by her mother Innabat in marriage to Zukani-ia. If Zukani-ia divorce her he must pay her one *mana* (a very large sum). If Ahhu-ajabu abuse him she shall be thrown from the tower. As long as Innabat (the mother in-law) lives Ahhu-ajabu (her daughter) must support her. Before 20 witnesses (1).

---

(1) Code 142 + 143.

We know from the story of Jacob and Laban that the ancient Hebrews compelled the husband to pay a marriage gift to the father of the bride and also that a husband was permitted to have more than one legitimate wife besides concubines. The earliest recorded case of divorce among the Hebrews is the rejection of Hagar by Abraham at the instigation of the legitimate wife Sarah. According to the story Hagar received only bread and a bottle of water. The law of Hammurabi is much more humane than this for it provides that upon a divorce of a concubine who has borne children the husband must render the marriage gift and provide support for the divorced wife (2). It is known from the early Hebrew law code (3) that a man might buy a free-born daughter for a slave wife, or might give her to his son with the stipulation that such a slave wife must then inherit her husband's estate equally with his own children. In case he divorce her he must furnish her support. Thus we see that the Hebrew law is almost the same as that of the Babylonians.

---

(1) CT, 6. 26 a.
(2) Code 137.
(3) Exodus, XXI 7-11

Little is known about family life among the Hebrews because their laws deal slightly with those questions. If we may judge from the similarity of their other institutions to those of the Babylonians, we may be safe in assuming that marriages were not allowed unless sufficient property was forthcoming to warrant such an undertaking, Moreover, polyandry was strictly prohibited from the very dawn of civilization and polygamy gradually disappeared. It must be apparent, however, that the Babylonian family life was distinctly superior to that of the Hebrew. This phase of society, so underestimated in modern life, was strictly regulated by the Babylonians. They at any rate preferred slavery rather than pauperism and homeless children and it is a moral question whether the Babylonians did not have a more sensible view of marrriage and divorce than we.

Slavery was a well-established institution among the Babylonians and Hebrews. The ancient Sumerians reduced their capitives to slavery; curiously enough they wrote the idea of male-slave by the sign for man with the sign for country written within; that is, « man from a foreign country »; the sign for the female-slave was made by the sign for woman with the sign for country; that is, « woman from a foreign land ».

Here are a few laws from the code of Hammurabi on slavery;

« If one destroy the eye of another's slave, or break any of his limbs, he must pay half the price of the slave ». (1)

If a slave strike a freeman on the body, one shall cut off his ear. » (2)

---

(1) Code 109.
(2) Code 205.

« If one slay the female slave of another he must pay 1/3 of a mana ». (1)

More interesting than the laws are the tablets which give concrete cases about slaves. Thus one from the Berlin Museum :

« A slave girl by name Mutibashtu has Sinbilanum given to his sister, Saddasu. The sons of Sinbilanum must not complain. After the day upon which this clay tablet is delivered, all the children which Mutibasthu may bear shall belong to Saddasu. »

Before 13 witnesses. (2) . . . 2300 B. C.

Another from 543 B. C. :

« Minu-bildam has voluntarily sold his slave Sharru-shurdatu-kultu to Suzubu for 1 *mana,* 3 shekels. Tabnia is security for the physical condition of the slave. Done in the presence of Nubta, mother of Minu-Bildani (3) ».

Among the Hebrews one might buy a Hebrew slave, but at the end of six years, the slave went free. This humanitarian law shows that the Hebrews from the very earliest times felt strongly against making slaves of their own race. Slaves among the early Hebrews were rated at 30 shekels as is seen from the law of Exodus : « If a bull gore a male or female slave, the owner must pay 30 shekels. » In Deuteronomy the law commands the master not only to set free a Hebrew slave after six years service but also to give him sheep, corn and wine.

---

(1) Code 214.
(2) M A P 5.
(3) Peiser B. V. 5.

In the code of Hammurabi, provision is made for slaves in the following manner : « If one aid a slave to run away he shall be killed. » « If one conceal a runaway slave he shall be killed ». « If one arrest a runaway slave and deliver him to his master he shall receive two shekels. »

From the reign of Nebuchadnezzar we have several tablets referring to a slave who ran away several times. No one wanted him so that his price fell from a mana to 23 shekels or 1/3 of his real value. One of the tablets about this unruly slave is particularly interesting.

« Pir, son of Marduk-usallim, and Gaga

his wife have sold Bari-ki-iti their slave for 23 shekels to Nabu-zir-ukin, a priest of Bel. Pir and Gaga guarantee the physical condition of the slave They also guarantee that the slave is a runaway and is now in flight but is not dead. They give up their tablet of ownership of the slave for this tablet of sale. »

Before witnesses and a scribe.

Slaves often became important persons in the Neo-Babylonian Empire. We know that great business houses employed slaves to deal on the exchange as brokers for the firm. Tablets contain contracts between slaves, who were often both wealthy and influential. In fact, men and women often paid for the privilege of being the slaves of important persons.

In a contract from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar a slave appears to have made a large sum of money on the exchange of Babylon for a member of a great banking house. He paid a percentage to his master and kept the remainder.

I have touched briefly upon three important phases of Babylonian and Hebrew society, viz : the *Relation of Parents to Children, Marriage and Divorce, and Slavery*. In all three of these departments both peoples made great advances. Most striking is the parallelism that exists betwen Babylonian and Hebrew laws on family life. If we had no other proof for the Babylonian origin of the Hebrews and for the continued influence of Babylonia upon them, this parallelism of family life would be sufficient.

Though based upon slavery their society does not seem to have fallen into castes, for slaves had always the opportunity to purchase their freedom, and even to rise to great influence. The history of neither people records a rebellion of slaves such as frequently threatened the existence of the Roman Republic. The family life was considered the important factor in society, especially in Babylonian society. The laws aimed to keep the family life as pure as possible and to allow no family to come into existence except under the most auspicious circumstances. While the way to divorce is somewhat easy, the way to marriage is exceedingly difficult. The family estate is protected by most careful legislation and in our next lecture, under the study of Boundary Stones, we shall see how estates were held together during many centuries in Babylonia.

Neither in the state nor in the cults is to be found the reason for the surprising vitality of Babylonian civilization which maintained an unbroken existence for 4000 years. The strength of the Babylonian nation centred in the family life, and their wise economic legislation. The importance of Semitic and especially Cuneiform scholarship is based largely upon this new information which it is able to give to the solution of modern social problems.

LECTURE IV

BABYLONIAN AND HEBREW SOCIAL LIFE AND CUSTOMS, MEASURES AND WEIGHTS, TRADE AND COMMERCE, TEMPLES AND ESTATES, LETTER WRITING.

Most interesting and important is the study of ancient *metrology* or the science of measures. In a popular presentation of this subject it is impossible to go into any of the mathematical details involved. I shall confine myself therefore to the methods by which these peoples measured distances, areas, liquids and weights. The Sumerians invented a very simple method of measuring distances by taking as a basis the width of the knuckles at the junction of the fingers and the hand. For their next measure they took the distance from the end of the nose, to the tips of the fingers which they called a *U* or yard. By continued observation they found that 60 finger-breadths usually made the distance between the tip of the fingers and the nose so that 60 fingers were said to be one U or a yard. This they called the *great yard*; the little yard was reckoned at 30 finger breadths (?) that is the distance from the elbow to the ends of the fingers which in most persons is exactly equal to the distance from the elbow to the tip of the nose.

By taking parts of the human body as basis of measuring, each person at first had his own units of mesurement. Thus one person's yard might differ considerably from anothers just as when boys pace off distances for their games one boy's paces may differ from those of another. So certain villages came to have a yard which differed some what from the standard yard of another village. But the necessity of trade and commerce soon demanded a fixed distance for the finger breadth or inch and the *U* or yard.

A statue of Gudea, one of the last Sumerian kings, represents the king in a sitting posture with a tablet on his lap. The king is studying the plan of the temple drawn upon this tablet and across the side of the tablet is placed his measuring rule upon which are marked the exact length of the ancient finger breadth. We know then from this statue of Gudea that the finger bradth was about 1/2 of an English inch. The basis of all early mathematics is 60, or the sexagesimal system, probably because in the human form there were about 60 finger breadths from the nose to the fingers. Multiplying 1/2 of an inch by 60 we have just 30 inches the ancient long yard. We thus see that the English yard of 36 inches is nearly the Sumerian standard of measuring distance. In early times the longest measurement was 20 yards. Later the distance that a man might walk in two hours was taken as a standard, in our terms about 10 miles. This was found much too long for the average person to walk in two hours so that the later Babylonians and Assyrians reduced it to about 7 miles.

Among most peoples we find areas measured by the square of the linear measure. Thus we square the foot and say square foot etc. We measure land by square feet or square rods or square miles. But the first peoples measured areas in an entirely different way. Among some the standard area for land is the area that a pair of oxen can plough in a day. The English acre is probably due to the same method of reckoning. The Sumerians measured land by the area which a certain pot of grain would sow. They went about it in this way. 180 grains of wheat or barley were put into a vessel which was then called a *Gin*. 60 *gin* or 10800 grains were taken as the standard for measuring grain, about four pints or an English half peck. This is the standard measurement for grain among the ancient Babylonians, Assyrians, Hebrews and Egyptians and is called *'Omer* by the Hebrews and *gomor* by the Greeks. This *homer* of grain was then sown upon the land and by long observance they agreed that an homer of grain would sow a certain amount of land, so that this land was called an *homer* of land. Thus arose the standard for measuring land, which was about 1/16 of a modern acre. Another system of measuring surfaces by squaring the length of the side also existed but the other method is the primitive one.

A system of weights was also invented by means of wheat grains. Thus 180 wheat grains were taken as the weight of a shekel, about 1/4 of an ounce, 60 of these made a *mana;* about a pound. A talent was then made by taking 60 *mana* which would be about 60 pounds.

Money was coined in rings, but more often weighed out in bullion. Thus a shekel of silver means 1/4 of an ounce of silver bullion, something like a franc if it were of pure silver. A talent of gold or silver or sixty pounds represented an enormous fortune. To say in ancient times that a man was worth a talent meant that he was independently wealthy

Actual money was little used by the Babylonians and Hebrews. Instead of coin they used bullion which was weighed out in balances by means of stone or metal weights. We have at the Louvre several stone weights from the shekel upwards and other little stone weights have been found in Palestine. When a merchant went upon a trading expedition he carried with him his weighing-weights. Thus when Abraham purchased the field of Ephron to bury Sarah the account says that he weighed out 400 shekels of silver for the place, or about 6 pounds of silver. The Hebrews of ancient times were accused by the Prophet Amos of cheating with the weighing weights. « They say when will the feast of the new-moon pass that we may barter and the Sabbath that we may get corn to lessen the *epha* and increase the *shekel* and distort the weighing stones. » The prophet means that they sold an *epha* of corn (about an English bushel, 10 homers) for a shekel in weight of silver by cutting down the size of the bushel and using shekel-stones which had been weighted to weigh the silver which the poor paid them for the corn. This traffic in false measures became so bad that Josiah passed the following law against it (1).

---

(1) Dt. 25, 13 — 16. Cf Lev. 19, 35 + 36.

« Thou shalt not have in thy bag two kinds of weights, big and little ones nor shalt thou have in thine house a large and a small *epha* ».

I shall now take up a much more interesting phase of the society of these peoples namely their methods of bounding farms and estates. The old Hebrew laws « thou shalt not remove thy neighbor's boundary-stone which the ancients have erected » Dt 19^{14}, has been amply illustrated by modern explorations. We have in fact several boundary stones in the Louvre from a very early period, which once stood on the line between two estates. These stones are generally egg-shaped, about 20 iches high and 6 inches thick in the centre. The lower part is always covered with an inscription, the top part is left for symbols of the gods and generally a serpent coiled at the very summit. Father Scheil in his fifth volume of *Textes Elamites et Semitiques* has given a photograph and translation of a most interesting boundary stone (1). I give here a short analysis of this stone as a more simple way of explaining the nature of these interesting objects.

---

(1) Pages 33 — 39.

The inscription on the stone starts by saying that an ancient king of Babylon of the 12th. century B. C. had given 30 *Gan* of land (about 300 acres) to a favorite of his, the north bounded by Mr. A, the south by the houses and lads of B and C, the west by the estate of D and the east by the garden of the city Bagdad (?) as far as the canal.

The inscription goes on to say that the king forgot to give his favorite a sealed tablet for the estate. The king died and a neighbor tried to move the boundary stone so as to secure 30 acres of orchard. The case was brought up to the new king. The king called in the man from whom the land was originally purchased, the prefect of Bagdad and the old men of the city. They all agreed that the neighbor had no claim to the estate. The king sealed the deed and gave it to the owner. Then at the end comes this interesting passage; « In the future, when the days grow old, if a scribe, a captain, a secretary, a judge, a prefect, a governor, a priest, a lieutenant or a neighbor (?) try to annul this deed or change this boundary, or if any one in fear of the curses shall instruct an other, a fool, a deaf-man, a blind man, an idiot, to change this stone, carry it away, throw it in the fire or water, hide it in the soil, or if any one efface this inscription or use the stone for a door-socket or to wall his canal, then may the gods *Anu' Bel, Ea, Nin-harsag, Sin, Ningul, Shamash*, etc. in all 47 gods, the god of the king and the divine *esprit* which protects the king, may all these regard that man in anger, may they curse him with an implacable curse and sickness : may his body be clothed with leprosy, may he be chased from the city in chains, may he be blotted out from the city and its suburbs. As long as he lives may he never come nigh the habitants of the city. May he be afflicted with dropsy and his body have no interment, may the shadow of his soul not come nigh the shade of another in the land of the dead. May his name be erased, his house destroyed and his descendants made extinct, and may he never have children ».

This fearful curse against moving boundary stones is certainly an adequate commentary on the Hebrew injunction « cursed be he that moveth his neighbor's boundary stone. »

Babylonians and Hebrews emphasised the notion of property rights and especially the necessity of keeping family estates intact. Daughters generally received their share of an estate in money or movable property so that upon their marrying into another family the landed estate was not affected thereby.

Land remained throughout the 5000 years of civilization which we are describing, the most important commodity. To be without land and a house placed a family at once upon an unstable basis in society.

The following law of the Hebrews shows clearly how much stress was put upon keeping family estates intact.

« All hereditary landed property may be bought back by members of the family to which it originally belonged. If a man becomes so impoverished that he is compelled to sell some of the land, it is the right of his nearest kindsman to purchase it ». (1)

If however a man sold a house in a walled city it could not be bought back into the family after a year.

All lands sold had to be given back to the estate from which they were purchased on the year of Jubilee (every 50 years). (2)

Thus we see that land was considered as the only permanent property and a sacred possession.

Both Babylonians and Hebrews considered that their land belonged originally to God who gave it to them only in trust. An estate was therefore a sacred possession from God. The whole nation had rights to the original soil and anyone passing through anothers vineyard or cornfield had the right to take as much as he could eat.

The notion here is that the crops belong to

---

(1) Liv. 25,24 + 25, paraphrased after Kent; Messages of Israel's Law Givers.

(2) A late law which probably never went into effect.

God and are entrusted to the owner by God so that every member of the race had a certain claim upon the produce of the soil.

In Babylonia the temples were richly endowed institutions owning gardens, vineyards and farmlands. Beside all this they received revenues from all taxable property within their territory. In the ancient cities the temple was the great treasure house of the community. The king kept his money in the temple vaults. All business transactions were arranged at the temple offices where the contracting parties swore to keep their bargain in the name of the gods of the temple. Women became nuns and entered the temple convents, even kings' daughters are known to have become nuns of important temples. The priests were married and often trafficked in lands and goods like an ordinary merchant. In Babylonia it seems that any one had the right to become a priest, and such was probably the case in early Hebrew society. Later only the Levites had the right to serve in this office and in still later times the descendants of Zadok, a branch of the tribe of Levi, monopolised this office entirely, leaving to the other Levites only certain inferior offices.

Great business houses existed in the latter days of the Babylonian Empire in all the important cities. We have in fact hundreds of tablets from the archives of many of these firms. Trading in distant cities which necessitated sending caravans on long voyages was made safe by the following laws.

> « If a man has comitted highway robbery and has been caught, that man shall be put to death. »
>
> « If the highwayman has not been caught, the man that has been robbed shall state on oath what he has lost and the city or district governor in whose territory or district the robbery took place shall restore to him what has been lost ».
>
> « If a life is lost the governor of that district or city shall pay the deceased relatives one *mana* of silver. »

In closing this incomplete survey of Babylonian and Hebrew society let me call attention to one interesting department of ancient literature not yet discussed. This is *letter writing.* The Babylonians wrote their letters upon small clay tablets, baked them and then wrapped them in a thin wrapper of clay which they in turn baked and addressed to the person to whom the letter was sent. When the letter arrived the person broke off the outer wrapper and thus had a clean text to read.

Letters give most important contributions to the study of history in all ages. The letters of Pliny the Younger and Cicero are among the most precious historical documents which we possess for understanding Roman history. Babylonian letters have been found in great quantities and throw much light upon the history of that period.

Here is a letter from a king of Babylon (circa 2200 B. C.) to a friend in another city. « To *Ibni-Sin*, son of *Marduk-nâzir* say, thus saith the king. A sheep shearing will take place in the House of the New-Year's Festival. When you receive this letter take the sheep which have been marked, set them on the road and come to Babylon. Delay not, reach Babylon on the first of March. »

From this letter we see that a great festival of sheep shearing was held at Babylon on New-Year's Day which took place in March.

We possess several letters written by the famous Hammurabi ; the following is a good example.

« To *Sin-iddinam* say, thus saith Hammurabi : Summon the people who own the fields along the canal and tell them to clean the canal.

Let them finish cleaning it this month (1) ».

Letters were dated by naming some event in the preceding year by which the year was known. Usually the month and day are not given. Thus *Hammurabi* dates one of his letters.

« The year in which Hammurabi the king, by the help of the gods established his good fortune, and in which he cast down the land of *Iamutbal* and *Rim-Sin*, the king ».

Letters and documents of all kinds are dated in this way « year when the king destroyed such and such, a city, built such and such a temple etc. » (2).

---

(1) K. L. H. 26.

(2) The writer agrees with Th. Dangin in holding that the events which mark a year refer to the year preceding the year in question. The word indicating that the letter etc. is dated in the year after the year of certain events is generally omitted.

It will not be difficult for my hearers to understand the following letter.

« To *Bibeâ* thus saith *Gimil-Marduk*. May the Sun-god and Marduk for my sake preserve thy health forever. I have sent for thy health. Tell me how thou art. I went to Babylon but did not see thee. I was greatly disappointed. Send me the reason of thy leaving that I may be cheered. In the month of *Marchevan* come to me. For my sake keep well always (1) ».

At *Tell-el-Amarna*, in Egypt have been unearthed more than 300 letters written to Egyptian kings of the 18 th. Dynasty about (1480-1427 B. C.) These letters come from kings of Babylon and Assyria and from various small cities in Western Asia, such as Jerusalem, Tyre and Gebal. I choose here for illustration a letter from a king of Babylon to a king of Egypt.

« To *Naphururi-ia*, great king of Egypt, thus saith *Burnaburi-iash*, king of Babylonia, thy brother. As for me and mine house, my horses and chariots, my sovereignty and my land, all goes well.

For my brother and his house, his hor–

---

(1) Copied from *Johns' Babylonian and Assyrian Laws and Contracts*, p. 336.

ses and chariots, his sovereignty and land may all be well. Since the letter carrier of my brother arrived at my court I have not been well so that the letter-carrier of my brother has had no chance to dine with me. When you see your letter-carrier again, ask and you will find out that my health is very bad and that I am almost used up. Since my brother has not sent a letter of condolence for my illness I was full of wrath against my brother and spoke thus, 'Is it that my brother has not heard about my sickness-why doth he not condole with me? why does he not send a messenger to find out about it'? Then the letter-carrier explained matters to me like this. It is a long journey–the land of Egypt is far away and who would inform thy brother? Is it possible that thy brother should hear about your illness and send no messenger? Then I said 'Is it really a long way'? Your letter-carrier said, 'Summon thy messengers and ask them'. Then when I found out that you live a long way off I was no longer angry against thee, my brother. Thou art retaining one of my letter-carriers, whereas I have given injuctions to yours and sent him back to you. Do like wise to my letter-carrier at once. Inasmuch as they tell me that the way is dangerous, there is no water and it is very hot, I do not send you many presents, only four pounds of jewels, and five span of horses, send I to my brother. If the weather be fair the next messenger will bring more presents. Whatever you need let me known about it and I will send it. May my brother send me a goodly amount of gold for I need it to make something. And when my brother sends me gold let him see to it that it is sealed by himself, for the last time you sent me gold I put it in the smelting furnace and found it not good. I am sure some one else tended to it before.

As to *Zalmu,* my letter-carrier, he has been robbed twice *en route*. *Biriamaza* plundered his caravan the first time and *Pamahu* the second time, since this happened in your land see to it that my letter-carrier is paid for his losses (1). »

---

(1) *Tell-el-Amarna* 10.

The *finesse* and delicacy of this letter is refreshing. Certainly the king of Babylon knew how far it was to Egypt. His long complaint and feigned surprise at not receiving a letter are meant only to convey how much he would appreciate a letter of condolence from the king of Egypt.

Among these letters we have some from the ancient Canaanites who complain to the king of Egypt about the Hebrew invasion under Joshua. Here is one from Jerusalem (1).

« To the king my lord, *Abd-hiba* thy servant. At the feet of my lord seven times I fall. What have I done that they slander me before thee, my lord, saying that I have fallen from thee. They disgrace me because I accuse them of helping the Hebrews.

Let the king take heed for his land, they are in rebellion. I say some times ; I will go to see my king ; but the foe is too strong and I dare not leave to see my king. Send reenforcements, the Hebrews are ravaging the territory of the king.

---

(1) Tell-el-Amarna 179.

Thus hath *Abdi-hiba* dictated to the royal scribe. Speak plainly to the king, my lord. The whole land of the king my lord is being destroyed. »

From this letter which comes from the latter part of the 15th century we obtain a good idea of the state of things at the time of the of the Hebrew invasion of Palestine under Joshua. Many other letters of this collection are equally valuable. The few selections here given are at least sufficient to give an idea of the immense advantages we now have for studying the history of the ancient Orient.

LECTURE V

RELIGION OF THE BABYLONIANS

Religion is the attempt to solve in a practical way the problems of conscience.

In giving a sketch of Babylonian religion it will be necessary to say a word about the religion of the Sumerians; for, as we have seen in these lectures Babylonian civilization was founded upon that of an older race whose origin we have traced to 5000 B.C. Even at this very ancient period the Sumerians had already evolved a rather complicated religion. They conceived of the world as a great flat island floating upon the sea. Above was the canopy of heaven, fastened at all points of the horizon in the great surrounding sea. Above this canopy was the upper sea, so that the world and the sky were thus surrounded by the waters above and the waters beneath.

In the beginning all was chaos, but the gods of order fought against the gods of disorder and slew the great dragon who ruled over chaos and who was the mother of evil. The gods then divided the land from the waters and fixed the canopy of heaven to separate the waters above from the waters beneath. This canopy of heaven was supposed to have been made out of the body of the slain dragon. In this canopy the gods placed the stars and fixed a track for the sun and moon and planets. This canopy they also provided with lattice-work so that the windows of heaven might be opened at different times to let down water from the upper sea. This was their explanation for the phenomenon of rain (1).

The earliest literary remains of this people show that the most important god in the pantheon was Ea, the god of the lower sea. From his realm came the waters of fountains and rivers. He was the god of pure water and hence the god of purification, and wisdom. In the great abyss with him dwelled the seven spirits of the upper clouds and the seven spirits of the lower rain clouds. His temple was at Eridu, at the mouth of the Tigris and Euphrates on the Persian gulf, which was perhaps the oldest city in the world.

---

(1) There is as yet no direct evidence that this view of Creation is by origin non-semitic. The writer believes however for various reasons that it came from the Sumerians.

The sun-god Shamash was the god of oracles. His temple was at Larsa an inland city of whose early history we known very little. The moon god, also a god of oracles, was worshipped at Ur, legendary birthplace of the father of the Hebrews. Bel, the god of the earth, was worshipped at Nippur, also an inland city whose religious history we know much about through the excavations of the University of Pennsylvania. Nana, daughter. of the water-god, and goddess of all female principles, particularly of love, was worshipped at Erech a city not yet thoroughly excavated.

It is not my intention to discuss the complicated pantheon of Sumerians and Babylonians nor to recount their legends, but I shall confine myself to giving an account of their religious practices and ideas.

The god of each city was predominantly worshipped there and in that vicinity. The early temples built to these city-gods were rectangular stage towers with three, five or seven stages and sometimes 125 feet high. Around this great tower stood the chapels to the gods, the principal chapel being reserved for the god of the city. The corner of the tower faced the points of the compass. At the very top was built a small room, in which astronomers studied the stars. The chapels contained idols of the gods and sacred symbols of their power. We find mention of sacred chariots and arks in which the gods went about the city. Sacred mules were kept in the temple-stables to draw the chariots of the idols. The temples possessed great estates which provided cattle and sheep for the sacrifices.

Beyond this we know very little about the religion of the Sumerians, but the Babylonians who followed them have borrowed their entire religious system and kept the old Sumerian language for their ritual, and the names of their gods. Before going into the details of the

Babylonian religion I should like to notice one point that has not yet been emphasized by any writer on this subject. We may often learn much from the way of naming persons. The proper names of the Sumerians are curious and interesting. Nearly one third of their names begin with *Ur* which means *dog*. Thus *Ur-kalla* means the *strong dog*, *Ur-shugallam* means " dog of the sacred chapel " of the temple at Telloh, *Ur–Bau* " dog of the goddess of vegetation ", etc. These names mean that this person is a devotee of the god in question, he is a servant of this god who is his saint or protecting genius. One finds other curious ideas expressed in these ancient names, thus we have men named after the sacred chariot of the gods, and even one man called " Sacred cart ", another is called *Guza-na* " His throne ", and *Guza-lal* " The throne carrier ".

Other curious names are *Igi-likka* " Dog faced ", that is " one that follows his god like a dog ". *Nar-a-mu* " my fox ", *Gul-Shumah*, "The giant-handed ", *Gimil-Sin* " the favorite of the moon god, "*Bara-sigga*" "founder of the chapel".

Da-lum "the mighty", *Uru-kalla*, "strong brother.", *Gul-anna-ru-a* "the one created in heaven" *Gul-Gishbar-e*, "the offspring of the fire god", *E-a-bil-Nina*, "A new offspring of the fish goddess", *Gul-marza*, "the wise man",, *Ni-sigun*, "the very oily one" *Du-u-ginni*, "firm footed" *Dugga-dingir*, "the word of god".

All these are interesting showing that their names were usually connected with some religious or ethical notion. (1)

Every Babylonian had not only his special god at whose temple he was a regular worshipper but his own private god who protected him from harm and directed his life generally. But the world was full of evil spirits, witches and demons of all sorts who were continually attacking men. Sometimes these evil spirits became too strong for the private gods and drove them away and took possession of men's souls. The demons were generally considered to be seven in number and a great many hymns have been preserved about these seven evil spirits, thus (1);

---

(1) Sumerian proper names generally attempt to describe the person, or give his status in society and are frequently composed without the name of a deity. In this they differ radically from Babylonian and Assyrian proper names which must always contain the name of a deity, either expressed or omitted by abbreviation,

« The evil gods are raging storms.
Ruthless spirits, created in the vault of heaven.
Workers of woe are they,
Bearing gloom from city to city.
In the foundation of heaven like lightning they flash.
To wreak destruction they lead the way.
In the broad heaven, home of *Anu*, their king,
They stand for evil and none can oppose ».

Thus the evil spirits filled the upper air and rushed out of heaven to attack men and bring calamities. Other demons entered the houses of men and brought sickness. Many hymns describe how these spirits went about bringing woe to the body, thus (2);

« The evil shade approaches the waist,
The evil sprite approaches the hand,
The evil god approaches the foot.
The whole seven have seized him !

The Babylonians were especially afraid of witches and spells cast by evil-minded persons. A favorite way of bringing woe to a person was to make a little image of him and curse it, spit upon it, bury it with dead animals, put it in a ditch, cover it in the road way where horses and men might trample upon it or throw it in the river. Thus by bringing, the image of a person in connection with unclean things the evil spirits came into that person's body. A great many prayers by sick persons exist which have complaints about the witches, thus (1);

---

(1) M. V. G. 1905, 3 p. 14.
(2) Idem. p. 21.

« Who art thou oh spell that hauntest me,
That seekest me to my misfortune,
That closest in on me for evil?
From what city thou art, I known not, thine house I known not,
Thy name I know not »

And again, (2)

The witch that roves the streets,
Slips into walled towns,
Enters the houses,
Rushes into public squares,
That steals away the affection of the man in love,
Robs the maiden of her conceived child,

---

(1) Tallquist, Maklu, II 188 ff.
(2) Idem III 1 ff.

With her look takes away beauty,
This witch saw me and chased me
Surrounded me with her spittle and barred the way.
My god and goddess cried for grief in my body.

And again (1)

« Oh thou that hast bewitched me and over powered me,
Placed me in the deluge of the river,
Put me in the high water of the river »,

Interesting is the following complaint about making small images of persons to bewitch them.

« Thou hast put a likeness of me into the possession of a dead man ; oh return.
Thou hast enclosed a likeness of me in the wall ; oh return.
Thou hast laid a likeness of me upon the threshhold ; oh return.
Thou hast buried a likeness of me in a bridge where every one walks on it ; oh return (2).
« The witches are sitting in the shadow of the wall, preparing to bewitch me, and are making images of me (3) ».

Sickness and every kind of misfortune came from the evil spirits who either were too strong for the good spirits and drove them out of the body or the good spirits abandoned the person because he had broken some religious law, had become unclean by touching dead bodies, visiting old houses which had not been purified, taking the name of one of the gods in vain etc. That is, according to Babylonian religion calamity arrives for two reasons, either because the demons are too strong for the good spirits or because the person has sinned, perhaps without knowing it.

---

(1) Idem III 118 ff.
(2) Idem IV, 26 ff. (Abridged).
(3) Idem V, 1 ff. (Abridged).

Sin is generally considered as violation of some religious and ritualistic law. Sometimes sin is considered from a higher ethical point of view, the breaking of moral laws, as stealing lying etc. On the whole however it may be said that the Babylonians regarded sin as a matter of religion and not of ethics. To keep oneself clean ritualistically, and to perform all the rites demanded by the temple cult was to be free from sin. Stealing, lying, cheating, etc. were not regarded as sin but only as trespasses against the civil laws.

Now when one had sinned, had been bewitched or overcome by a demon of sickness what was one to do? This was the great question in all ancient religions and the Babylonians solved it like all other ancient peoples by offering sacrifices.

A special class of priests did nothing but perform long rites for purification from sin. These were called the *âshipu* priests and their assistants were called *mash-mash* priests. The methods of freeing from sin all depend upon this single idea that the good spirit has left the person and that the evil spirit or spirits have taken possession of him. The question then was how to drive out the evil spirit and make the person well or free him from sin.

We have long rituals describing fully how this was done. In fact two standard rituals exist, each in 9 books, for expelling evil spirits. One of these the *Maklu* ritual has been published by a Swedish scholar *D^r^ Talliquist* and the other the *Shurpu* ritual by *Professor Zimmern* of Leipzig. Both rituals are now in the British Museum.

At the beginning of this lecture we have seen how that the water god *Ea* was considered the god who gave pardon for sins since he dwelled in the pure waters of the under world and hence had power by means of washing with his pure waters to drive out evil demons. At his sacred city *Eridu* the Sumerians had located the tree of life. Certains plants, which were supposed to have power over evil spirits, also belonged to the sphere of influence of Ea, god of the sacred garden of Paradise. An ancient song about the sacred tree of life runs thus (1):

> « In Eridu groweth the dark *kishkanu* tree,
> In a pure place it groweth,
> Where earth is there is its place,
> And the couch of the goddess is its home;
> Into that undefiled place no one can enter. »

In fact we have at the Louvre several bas-reliefs of angels or winged genii who guard the tree of life, watering it with sacred water of the abysmal sea. The priest who drove away demons, and thus forgave sin acted in the name of the god of the under sea, and of Eridu. In Prof. Zimmern's book (2) we have directions for the ritual of driving away the demons. To prepare for the ceremony the priests began making sacrifices at sunset and continued through the night with services of lighted candles and preparations differing for different persons and different sins.

---

(1) MVG 1905 3 p. 30
(2) Ritualtafeln für den Beschwörer (One of the most scholarly productions ever written.)

Generally the priest prepared small images of wood, copper, clay, butter, honey or dough which were to be used during the ceremony. Especially interesting are the directions for felling the tree from which they hewed images.

The priest swept the ground for thirty feet in all directions about the tree, purified the tree with incense and touched it with a sacred golden axe. He then sacrificed a lamb with meal, honey, dates, wine, etc. All this was to drive away any evil spirits that might be lurking in the tree, which was then cut down : part of its wood was carried to the city, from which images were made to be used during the ceremony.

In case a house were to be purified sacrifices were made on its roof.

These things having been performed, the priests were ready to begin their long ritual of nine books.

If a man, supposed to be bewitched, were not too ill to leave his bed, he went with the priests to the river-side where they usually performed the ceremony.

The suppliant began by reciting the first two books, imploring the gods to be loosed from the demons ; in this recital he tried to mention all kinds of possible offenses or accidents which might have befallen him.

> « Have I divided father and son,
> Have I divided son and father,
> Mother and daughter divided
> Daughter and mother divided,
> Father-in-law from daughter-in-law divided ?
> Have I failed to free a prisoner,
> Have I made my god disgusted, have I taken the name of my goddess in vain ?
> Have I despised father or mother, or abused my eldest sister ?
> Have I said no and meant yes,
> Said yes and meant no ?
> Am I bewitched by the soul of any one,
> By the shadow of father or sister,
> Have I met a bewitched person... etc. ? »

The suppliant after repeating several pages of such phrases, began to pray to all the gods, as many as thirty, to loose the bands of the evil spirits.

The priest then chanted a hymn to Marduk, son of Ea, beginning,

> « Curse through father or mother thou loosest
> Curse by friend or companion thou loosest
> Curse by bed or couch thou loosest »,

going through one hundred-sixty-five such phrases in an exhaustive search to name every possible object from which the person may have received his evil spirit. After this, the priest prays the gods to forgive the suppliant. During these ceremonies a hymn was sung in Sumerian in honor of the god, Marduk, telling how he had been commissioned by the ancient god of the ocean to pardon the sins of men. The hymn tells how Marduk, child of Ea, looks upon the man bound by the evil demons and goes away to consult his father. The passage in which Marduk meets Ea is so famous that I quote it here;

> « Oh my father an evil curse like a demon has befallen a mortal. I do not know what this mortal has done nor how he shall be cured. »
> « And Ea answered his son Marduk,
> « My son what dost thou not know, how can I tell thee more ?

> What I know thou also knowest.
> Go away my son Marduk
> Take the mortal to the place of cleansing
> Loose his bonds, break his bonds ».

After this Sumerian hymn follows an interesting ceremony. The priest now attacks the demon and tries to drive him out with an onion and a curse.

While the priest peeled the onion and threw the leaves into the fire, the suppliant pronounced the following curse;

> « As this onion is peeled and thrown inthe fire,
> As the burning flame burns it up,
> As it will never be planted again in a garden
> As furrows and earth will not again have it,
> As it will never again cast root in the ground,
> As it will never grow again among the reeds, nor see again the sunlight,
> As it will never come upon the table of king or god,
> So may the curse, the ban, the pain and the sorrow
> The sickness, the woe, the sin, the trespass be peeled away,
> This day, like this onion.
> May the burning flame burn it this day, may the ban yield and may I see the light. »

Curses were repeated while the priest threw dates into the fire. The same ceremony was performed with a sheepskin, goatskin, wool and seed.

The man's head, hands and feet were then bound by a sacred cord which the priest broke praying that as the cord was broken so might the ban be loosed. (1)

After prayers and hymns by the priest several curses were uttered against the evil spirits and the ceremony ends.

Thus the priests of Babylonia forgave sin, healed sickness and drove away demons. This ritual gives hundreds of possibilities in hope that some one of them might fit the case in hand. The Babylonians believed it impossible to cure a disease unless they could mention by name the disease, the demon who caused it and the sin which the person had committed. Every thing depended on this. When once this name was found out, the priest had power over the demon by curses and symbolic rites.

Every house in Babylonia had its household gods. Generally two small idols stood at the doors of the houses. These were called the twin gods. When the priest installed these gods, sacrifices were made to purify the home. The ritual of consecrating a house ended with this sentence.

---

(1) This is not stated in the text but certainly implied.

> « I have installed you,oh gods, in the house of Mr. so and so at the right and left ; may all evil stay 10000 miles away from thee ».

Alongside of the *âshipu* priests who pardoned sins, cured diseases and drove away evil spirits, there existed from the earliest days another class of priests called the *bāru* priests. These were the augurers, the possessors of divinations. The sun-god was supposed to understand the future more than any other god and consequently the priests of divinations belonged chiefly to the temples of this god. According to the legends of the Babylonians, the gods had endowed an ancient king of Sippar with the power of divining the events of the future. This ancient king, *Enmeduranki*, then initiated his children into these mysteries. To be a priest of divination, it was necessary to belong to the noble race of

Enmeduranki, just as among the Hebrews the priests had to belong to the race of Aaron. Moreover priests of the diviners' cult had to be perfect physically and bear a good reputation.

Long rites existed for initiating priests into the *bāru* cult. We shall pass over these and take up what is more interesting, their ways of divining future events. The principal method was by means of the livers, kidneys and stomachs of sheep. The British Museum possesses a stone imitation of a sheep's liver which shows exactly how the ancient augurers made forecasts from livers. Certain sections of the liver were supposed to indicate certain things, Thus on one part is written, « I will seize and eat the good things ». This means that if the liver showed certain signs at that point the suppliant would conquer his enemies.

« If the liver be heavy at this place, then the goddess *Ninkarrak* will shriek among the people and calamity will befall the enemy ».

From a book of divination we have the

following concerning auguries over stomachs.

« If the stomach at the right and left rise up equally and fold in and make a projection, the king will triumph ».

Again,

« If at the opening of the stomach there be a projection on the right side, then the boat of the king will be submerged in the floods of the river. »

Auguries were made by observing animals thus (1);

« It in the head of a sheep the right eye be open and then close, the man's protecting god will crush him, but if the left eye open and close the man's god will pardon him. »

« If a sheep be decapitated, and it protrude the lips, then the god is angy with the man. »

« If a dog lie down before a bed, the god of that man will be angry with him. » (2).

« If a dog, in the house of a man, carry blazing coals then there will be a revelation in that house. »

« If a dog enter a palace and kill some one, then all in that palace shall be augmented. »

Another very common method of divination consisted in mixing oil with water and observing the formation of the globules in a marble cup. As the Babylonians knew nothing about glass, the observations had to be taken from over the cup. A few citations will illustrate the method, thus;

---

(1) Boissier, Textes rel. à la div. p. 17.
(2) Idem p. 31.

« If the oil break up and spread over the cup, the sick man will die; the army will be slain (1) ».
« If the oil turn to the left side of the cup the sick man will get well (2) ».
« If the oil turn to the West, sorrow for the heart (3) ».
« If there be bubbles just alike, rebellion, treachery (4) ».

The Babylonians believed in life after death and in a resurrection. The souls of the dead resided in the lower world, but were not happy. The kingdom of the dead was a gloomy place where the souls of men slept or wandered about in sadness. They lived from sacrifices made by their friends on earth, therefore the families of the dead had to make regular sacrifices to feed the souls in *Arâlu* or Hades. If the body had not been properly buried on earth then the soul could not enter *Arâlu*, but wandered about the world as an evil spirit, entering houses and causing all sorts of mischief. It was therefore highly important that all bodies should be properly buried. Often souls came up from *Arâlu* and attacked men, putting them under an evil spell; thus we have a curse against one of these shades from hell which was tormenting a man (1).

---

(1) Hunger Becherwahrsagung, A5.
(2) A,20.
(3) A,70.
(4) B,37.

> « Until thou departest from the body of this man,
> Thou shalt have no food to eat,
> Thou shalt have no water to drink ».

Babylonian literature possesses numberless hymns and psalms which the afflicted sung in honor of the gods or in confession of their sins, during the services of the *âshipu* priests; here is one sung at the service for a man under an evil spell (2).

> « Shamash, king of heaven and earth, regulator of all above and below
> Shamash, to resurrect the dead, to loose the bond is in thy power.
> Incorruptible judge, regulator of men, noble offspring of the shining Moongod. »

---

(1) M V G, 1905, 3 p. 115.
(2) Zimmern, *Shurpu*, VII, 3 p. 14.

Babylonian life was profoundly religious in every sense. The temple contained the public archives and merchants arranged their legal affairs at the temple offices. In the more ancient times witnesses and interested parties in contracts swore by the city-gods and by the sacred utensils of the holy chamber. At the top of the famous *stèle* of Hammurabi in the Louvre is a bas-relief which represents the sun-god dictating laws to the king. This idea that all laws are revelations of the gods is parrallel to the idea of the Hebrews about the revelations of the law to Moses on Mt. Sinai.

In later times the city, Babylon, became the great centre of Babylonian religion. The god of Babylon was Marduk to whom the kings erected a magnificent temple. The legend of the tower of Babel in Genesis refers to the huge stage tower of this temple. The Babylonians believed that the gods gathered in the shrine of Marduk, on New Year's Day to write the tablets of fate of the empire for the ensuing year. On that day Marduk was carried through the central street of Babylon in an ark and brought to the house of sacrifices where he received adoration and animal sacrifices. The god of wisdom, Nebo, came in an ark from Barsippa a city 10 miles south west of Babylon to assist in writing the tablets of fate.

One thing seems certain in regard to temple worship, and that is that animals had to be offered at a distance from the temples. The Hebrews offered their animal sacrifices at the door of the temple.

In closing this sketch of Babylonian religion I should like to emphasize one point. This people starting with the notion that sin is not a moral question, rose to the conception that immoral living is also sin. They held that it was a religious duty to obey all laws both religious and profane. Their great weakness seems to have been their utter dependance upon powers outside of themselves. Their long services and beautiful prayers probably gave them peace and consolation, but the divine right of the mind to question why things exist and why laws are so, was never exercised during the millenniums of Babylonian civilization.

There is some thing inexplicably sad in the thought of a people who ruled the world for 4000 years, and yet did not succeed in attaining unto the supremest happiness of man, the discovery that there is also much of the divine within.

LECTURE VI

RELIGION OF THE HEBREWS TO THE EXILE (1)

The religion of the Hebrews may be traced through four stages; their religion while they were a nomad race living near Mt. Sinai or wandering in the desert south of the Dead Sea, their religion when they became agricultural communities after the conquest of Canaan, this agricultural religion modified by the preaching of the prophets, and the legal religion when the ancient religious practices and principles were completely petrified in laws.

It does not seem probable that all of the Hebrews went into bondage in Egypt in the 18th century BC., for when we first meet with trustworthy information about them we find that they were still a nomadic race, which would not be the case if they had all lived in Egypt surrounded by that ancient and advanced civilization for four centuries. Early tradition shows that the Hebrews lived near Mt. Sinai and mingled much with the Midianites, another tribe of wandering shepherds who must have formed part of the great Semitic migration spoken of in the first lecture.

---

(1) The writer is particularly indebted in this lecture to the recent brochure of *Dr. Karl Marti* « Die Religion des Alten Testaments unter den Religionen des Vorderen Orientes » Tübingen, J. Mohr, 1906.

The god of Mt. Sinai was *Jahwe*, whom the Hebrews adopted as their national god. The third chapter of Exodus tells how Moses, the first historic leader of the Hebrews, adopted this god for his nation. « And Moses said unto God, ‘ Behold I am going to the Children of Israel and I shall say to them, the god of our fathers has sent me unto you (in Egypt) and when they say to me ‘What is his name’ what shall I answer them » ! Then God said to Moses « I am what I am », and he said « thus thou shalt say to the Children of Israel « I am » has sent me unto you (1) ».

---

(1) Exodus III, 13 f.

This means that the main body of the Hebrews, having lived long on the plains near Sinai had adopted the religion of a new god. When Moses decided to lead his nation north to seize Canaan, he first thought of that part of the nation in Egypt and went thither to lead them back and attach them to their ancient brethren. But in the period of separation, those in Egypt had never heard of the new god adopted by the tribes on Sinai and so the historian tells us how Moses interpreted this name to the Hebrews in Egypt.

Like all other pastoral and nomadic tribes such as the Ammonites, Moabites and Edomites, the Hebrews had a national god, but believed also in the existence of demons spirits and shades. Each tree, fountain and rock was supposed to be possessed by a demon. The spirits of the dead, also had potent influence over the living, especially over those related to the dead and families often made sacrifices to the shades of their ancestors.

Certain animals were held sacred. Of animal worship we have one well known example in the brass serpent set up by Moses in the Wilderness; images of the serpent must have been worshipped to a late date for II Kings 18, 4 contains an account of how Hezekiah (725–696) broke the brazen serpents which the people worshipped. The story of the golden calf which Aaron made during the absence of Moses on Sinai indicates that this animal was also held sacred during the period of nomadic religion.

During this early period the heads of the families were the priests who sacrificed animals at the great feasts or in times of calamities. So far as we know they had but one national festival, the sacrifice of the first born of the flocks in early spring time. The blood of the victim was daubed on door-posts and tent ropes and the sacred sign of the tribe was often made on important objects. The sacred clan mark of the Hebrews seems to have been a rude cross, later the letter T.

In making a sacrifice these early tribes supposed that they were entertaining the deity at their board. Each one that ate of the victim imagined that he had shared in a meal with Jahwe. It is only later that sacrifices were burned and thus wholly consecrated to God. Of other early Hebrew religious practices we know little. In the last lecture we saw that the Babylonians had long rituals for driving away the demons, purifying houses and curing diseases. The Hebrews probably performed similar rites, but none of their incantations are left to us. In II Sam. 28 there is an account of how Saul consulted the shade of Samuel through the mediation of the witch of Endor.

The most important persons in early Hebrew religion were the prophets, who answered questions about the future, and rendered oracles from Jahwe. The Hebrews from the very beginning so far as we know their history never made images of their god. When they abandoned their home on Sinai, Jahwe abandoned his ancient mountain and went with his people in an ark. The origin of this idea of the invisible presence of god in the ark is probably to be traced to the Sumerian custom of carrying gods in boats (1). In fact it was characteristic of the great New-Year's festival at Babylon, that the gods Marduk and Nebo paraded the streets in boats at that time. The custom may come perhaps from the ancient cult of Ea, the water god of Eridu, upon which cult most of the religion of Babylonia was founded.

Such was the religion of the Hebrews when they began the conquest of Canaan in the 14th. century B. C. Although little information exists about this early period, yet the historian finds even here certain remarkable ideas. These shepherds had risen at least to the conception that their god and his people were inseparable. Their god Jahwe could be the god of no other people, and the Hebrews could have no other god. Certain spirits of prophets like Moses seem also to have infused into their national life a distinct movement toward monotheism and pure morals. The germ of that religious development which was to affect so profoundly the history of all mankind, had already sprung into life when the Hebrews crossed the Jordan and founded agricultural communities.

---

(1) See Gudéa Statue D 3, 3 and Cyl. A 2, 3. Also Th. Dangin in R. A. 3 p. 124.

Religion among shepherds is always radically different from religion among agricultural peoples. The Canaanites possessed farms and vineyards. They had fenced cities and old religious centres where many native and foreign gods were worshipped. Gods from Assyria, Babylonia, Egypt and Phoenicia had been introduced throughout the country. Altars, wooden posts, stone pillars and sacred trees stood every where in this rich fruit and grain raising country, to remind the inhabitants of the veneration due to the local gods and demons.

These farmer-Canaanites had three great festivals. The first in the early spring time when the first ears of corn are plucked. Being a grain producing country, the religion of the people demanded that the first fruits of the grain should be sacrificed to the gods. Among shepherds this early festival consisted in the sacrifice of the first born lambs of the flocks. In Canaan on the contrary, unleavened cakes made of meal ground from the first ears of corn were offered at the spring festival. The Canaanites celebrated the end of the corn harvest seven or eight weeks later. Finally they had a great festival in the autumn at the end of the vintage season to celebrate the gathering of grapes.

The Hebrews wrested the farms and vineyards from the Canaanites but the older civilization of the conquered people was absorbed by the conquerors. At first the Hebrews had one festival when the firstlings of the flocks were offered to Jahwe in the early spring. They added to this festival the feast of unleavened bread of the Canaanites which came at the same season. They then took over the two feasts at the end of grain and grape harvests. Under the influence of the highly developed religion of the Canaanites where numerous priests must have been necessary to care for the services of the temples, the Hebrews also set apart some to serve as priests at the differents centres of population. The notion of sacrifice which in the early nomadic period had been that of *communion* with Jahwe, now became that of an *offering* to Jahwe and hence arose the custom of taxing the people to support the sacrifices which were compulsory offerings.

Whether the habit of celebrating the 7th, 14th, 21th and 28th, days of the lunar month, days corresponding to the phases of the moon, belongs to the early Hebrew period or was borowed from the Canaanites, can not be settled with certainly. The Babylonians observed the 7th, 14th, 19th, 21th and 28th days of the month, but in what way is not known. At any rate the Sabbath was originally a celebration of the phases of the moon and not purely a rest day. This is Jesus' interpretation when he said « The Sabbath is made for man and not man for the Sabbath (1) » However the day must have been regarded as sacred and set aside for certain religious observances.

---

(1) If the *Sayings of Jesus* found on a Greek papyrus in Egypt be genuine there can be no doubt that Jesus demanded religious respect for the Sabbath. The second of these sayings is ; « Jesus says, If ye fast not concerning this world ye shall not find the kingdom of god, and if ye keep not the Sabbath ye shall not see the father ». The *Saying* is

Thus from the 14th to the 10th century B. C. the Hebrew religion became an amalgamation of two types of religion, the nomadic and the agricultural. In the conflict betwen the ancient Canaanitish gods, Ashtoreth, Saphon, Antu, Shamash, etc., and Jahwe, the national god of the Hebrews, monotheism triumphed. The cult of Jahwe was established in the ancient shrines. In the days of the Judges Shiloh, in the tribe of Ephraim, became the centre of the *Jahwe religion;* when David founded his capital at Jerusalem in the 10th century, he transfered the Ark to that place. At this period no law existed to compel the Hebrews to worship at Jerusalem where David had placed the Ark. Each district had its own shrine and altar. Indeed certain shrines were named after the national god as « Jahweh is

---

at any rate based on a teaching of Jesus. While the observance of the Sabbath does not stand historically upon any thing fundamentally religious yet the conscienciousness of humanity and the authority of Jesus have given to that day a sacred character which the writer holds fundamental to Christianity.

my peace », « Jahwe is my standard » and Bethel, Gilgal, Dan and Beersheba became religious centres to which the faithful made pilgrimages for the three great festivals.

During this period there must have been prophets like Elijah and Elisha to preach against idolatry and to develop the idea of monotheism. The result of all previous Hebrew history was summed up in their first book of law known as the *Book of the Covenant.* If we wish to gain a clear idea of the nature of their religion during the early days of the Kingdom under Solomon and David to the middle of the 7th century it is necessary to study Exodus 20-23 and Exodus 34

Their political and religious constitution reflects the character of early ideas. In it we find idolatry expressly prohibited. The Hebrews are forbidden to intermarry with other races and to worship at Canaanitish shrines. The feast of unleavened bread took place in the month of Abib and the sacrifice of the firstlings of the flocks and herds is connected with it. Thus the harvests and the herds were consecrated to Jahwe at the beginning of the year. This festival lasted seven days. The festival of weeks or feast of the wheat harvest and the feast of the vintage in the fall are commanded. The law ordains that every male should appear at the house of Jahwe at these three festivals. The law of the Sabbath was also firmly established at that time.

Comparison of their moral standards with those of other contemporaneous races shows how much this people had already advanced beyond their age. Slaves obtained their freedom after six years of service. Stealing was punished by payment of four or five times the sum stolen. The following passage reveals their humane ethics. « The stranger thou shalt not afflict or pillage, the widow and the orphan thou shalt not oppress. »

From this age came the custom of leaving the gleanings of the harvest fields for the poor. Every traveler might take enough corn and grapes to satisfy his hunger. The outer edge of the crops was left as a gift to God for the poor.

The Hebrews after their settlement in Canaan and the establishment of the kingdoms at Samaria and Jerusalem, had already laid a firm foundation for a universal religion. They had an unshakable trust in the goodness of God ; that he and his people were inseparable, and that he is a spirit too pure and too strong to be confined by material limitations.

We come now to an event which changed completely the religion of the Hebrews; that is the preaching of the Prophets. In the middle of the 8th century appeared Amos and Hosea. Each of them spoke strongly against the adoption of Canaanitish practises. The burden of their teaching was that ancient simplicity should be restored. It is evident from passages of these prophets that the spiritual worship of Jahwe was endangered by encroachments of Canaanitish luxury and idolatry. Thus Hosea says ;

« I will visit upon her the days of the Baals unto whom she has burned inçense, adorning herself with ear-rings and neck-laces and going after her lovers ; but me hath she forgotten ».

« I will cause to cease her joy, her feasts, her new moons, her Sabbaths and all her assemblies. »

From Amos, instructive are the following passages;

> « Thus saith Jahwe, Seek me and live; seek not Bethel and go not to Gilgal and pass over not to Beer-sheba ».
> « They hate at the door of justice him that correcteth them and he that speaketh sincerely is despised ».

But the prophets were more than mere social reformers. Their great great contribution was their attempt to transfer religion from an outer to an inner process.

Their thesis was that the reality of God manifests itself in the soul of men more than in material nature. Hitherto all antiquity had worshipped gods of outer manifestations, gods of the sea, mountains, rivers, forests, gods of love, wisdom, war, etc. The Hebrews themselves had not yet risen to the conception that the soul of man is the nearest approach to god in the universe.

On this point Amos expresses himself distinctly;

> « The lion roareth-who feareth not?
> The lord Jahwe speaketh-who prophesieth not? »

Jeremiah a century later puts this idea much more clearly;

> « And I said 1 shall not remember it,
> And I shall not speak any more in his name.
> But it came to me like a consuming fire
> Confined within my bones
> And 1 am wearied in holding it,
> And can not. »

The great prophets, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Jeremiah set forth the idea of an ethical monotheism. The idea of the oneness of God could not be born until the human mind discovered the spiritual relation between the soul and God. When this was once discovered the notion of many gods had to disappear for if God be a spirit communing with man's spirit he could not be more than one and the same, for this communion is always the same everwhere.

The Hebrews now, though the influence of the prophets, pass into the stage known as *prophetical religion*. Efforts were made on all sides to suppress the idolatry and superstitions of the local cults. But for the needs of man a ritual and a law or at least a prayer book is absolutely necessary. Not every body could rise to the estatic communion of the prophets. A new ritual and new dogmas were needed therefore to reflect their teachings. The result of all this movement, is contained in the book of Deuteronomy which Josiah promulgated just before the Exile.

This book did not rise entirely to the ethical monotheism and individualism preached by the prophets and found most clearly expressed in Jeremiah. The idea that Jahwe is the god of all peoples was not yet generally accepted nor expressly set forth. We shall have to wait for the Great Unknown prophet of the Exile (Is. 40-55) to announce at last the universal nature of God.

The most important innovation in the Book of Deuteronomy was the concentration of worship at Jerusalem. Experience ever since the invasion under Joshua had proven that the people were inclined to adopt Canaanitish forms of idolatry at the ancient shrines. There seemed to be no way of stopping this but by prohibiting worship everywhere except at Jerusalem. This the lawgivers enforced.

It was forbidden to sacrifice to or worship Jahwe anywhere in all the Kingdom of Judah except at Jerusalem. The priests at all these centres lost their positions and had to serve under the priests at Jerusalem.

The Book of Deuteronomy is really a reaction against idolatry and a summing up of Hebrew religion under the influence of the prophets.

The great note struck by the authors of this document is love to God as the reason why men should be righteous. A spirit of trust in the final triumph of an ideal society discovers itself on every page of this book.

It is providential that the teachings of the prophets were thus summed up in the form of a *Book of Devotion* before the Exile. Having struggled upward to conceive of God as a spirit who loves men and whom men should love, the faith of the people in their religion was now to suffer a supreme test. Soon after the promulgation of the law of Deuteronomy the Kingdom came abruptly to an end. Jeremiah fled to Egypt and the influential classes went into captivity at Babylon. The Ark itself, place of the invisible presence of Jahwe, disappears from history and the temple services were abandoned.

Had it not been for this book of devotion, full of promises of the final triumph of Jahwe who loved his people, teaching the power of Jahwe over all things and all events, the scattered Jews would have had nothing to hold them together. In our study of Jewish religion during and after the Exile we shall see how the ideas already reached were built upon and enlarged so that they formed a solid basis for the teaching of Jesus.

◆

LECTURE VII

RELIGION OF THE HEBREWS AFTER 597 B. C.

When Nebuchadnezzar captured Jerusalem in 597 B. C. and carried away the superior class of Hebrews to Babylon, the Hebrew people may be said to have forvever ended their national existence. Likewise their religion now enters upon a new stage gradually losing its national character and becoming more and more universal in its concept of God and salvation. We have seen how just before the nation was dispersed throughout the world the results of their history and the preaching of the prophets had been summed up in the law of Josiah, better known as the Book of Deuteronomy. It is likely that this law was carried away by the different groups of exiles wherever they may have wandered, to Egypt, Babylon, Moab, Aramea or obscure towns in Palestine.

To trace the future evolution of Hebrew religion we must now study the works produced by the exiles at Babylon, for of all the groups of this scattered race the colony at Babylon alone continued to work out the problems of religion. In the year 592 Ezekiel began to preach to a colony of exiles in central Babylonia near the ancient town of Nippur. At this time Jeremiah was preaching at Jerusalem. These two prophets, one among his exiled compatriots in distant Babylonia, and the other among the miserable remnant at the Holy City now made a last desperate effort to save their father-land. Their sermons at this period have little to do with the problems of religion. These two prophets in fact devoted all their energies to denouncing the idolatry and wickedness of their people. They both held the thesis that obedience to the law of Deuteronomy would yet save the nation from destruction. It will suffice to cite extracts from a speech of Ezekiel to give an idea of the state of affairs at this time;

> Ezekiel V-7 Since your disobedience is greater than the peoples about you
> And since ye walk not in my statues,
> And do not keep my judgements — behold
> I am against you saith the Lord.

We shall pass over the scathing denunciation of Hebrew society by Ezekiel and Jeremiah since they have only historical interest for us. In 586 Jerusalem was captured and utterly destroyed. Jeremiah fled to Egypt with a large colony of exiles and we hear no more of him. The prophecies of the prophets, Hosea, Amos, Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel had been fulfilled. The continued wickedness of the people had made an end of the national existence.

Ezekiel now set to work to plan a universal religion. In that age of extreme polytheism, living himself in a land where each city worshipped a different god, he began by proclaiming that there is but one God. This one God, Jahwe, had chosen Israel and Judah from the very beginning of the world to teach mankind the laws of righteousness and the nature of God. To save humanity it was therefore necessary first to save the Hebrews. This could be done only by strict obedience to the law and by bearing the sufferings of the Exile in patience. This prophet has left us a vast scheme of a Messianic kingdom. With him arose the notion that the nations of the world would be marshalled in an unnumbered host and make a last attack upon the restored Jerusalem. Then Jahwe would defeat the hosts and slay such numbers that the valleys of Palestine would be filled with the dead. A descendant of the royal line of David would then reign at Jerusalem and rule the world according to Hebrew law and Hebrew religion.

In the 40-48th chapters of his book he has left us a constitution for the Messianic Kingdom which he prophesied. A radiant angel came to him in Babylon and carried him across the dessert of Arabia to the Holy City. The angel measured out the plans for a magnificent temple, and gave directions for a great feast of dedication. No stranger or uncircumcised or unrighteous person should ever pass its threshold. Only the sons of Zadok, ancient priest of the temple in the days of Solomon, could minister at the services. The rest of the Levites must tend the doors, carry away the ashes, wash the linen, etc. Provisions were made for the clothing which the priests might wear when serving in the temple. These garments had to be taken off when they went out among the people. The hair of the priest must be kept reasonably short. Among many other regulations the angel forbade the priests to hold property of any king. To support the priests the angel measured off a large territory about Jerusalem (1). Another section of land east and west of the city was assigned to the king. The angel then fixed the scale and size of the weighing weights, dry measures, and laws for the feasts and sacrifices.

---

(1) Ezekiel's idea of allotting sections of land to support the state and the official religion is obtained from Babylonia. The law is by origin Sumerian.

Then the angel caused a stream of water to flow from the temple eastward to the Dead Sea. This river flowed through a veritable paradise of gardens and flowers and changed the salt water of the Sea into a fresh water lake. Finally the angel measured off great provinces from Damascus to the Red Sea for the twelve tribes who would be restored in the Messianic Kingdom.

Such was the dream of Ezekiel and the promises which he held out for righteousness, Although impossible in its exterior features, yet this dream of a world empire had much in it which was useful. The exhortations of Ezekiel to righteousness influenced most powerfully the entire world. His laws for temple worship actually came into force after the Exile and Hebrew ritual has ever since been modeled after this vision. To him we owe many new and fruitful ideas. He was the first to state clearly that each individual must bear the responsibility for his own acts. On the other hand he taught that man's actions are determined by the will of God. His philosophy is therefore strangely contradictory. He was the first to fix the exact date of the Passover and the day of National Atonement, to distinguish between sin and guilt and fix definitely the ritual.

Thus Hebrew religion entered into the first stage of becoming a religion for all men. Its strength was the principle of monotheism and its insistance that men must be righteous to be saved. Its weakness was that righteousness could only be had in obedience to the law of the Hebrews, and in recognizing the Davidic King as sole ruler of the kingdoms of the earth.

Towards the end of the Exile appeared another prophet at Babylon who began proclaiming the immediate restitution of the Messianic kingdom. He spoke of a paradise to which the scattered Hebrews would be gathered by the great shepherd. According to him the sufferings of his race had been devised by Jahwe to teach them righteousness and faith in the final triumph of the Golden Age. Like Ezekiel and Isaiah he believed in the coming of a Messianic King after the great catastrophe. We have the writings of this prophet in the 40-50 chapters of the present Book of Isaiah which begin,

« Comfort ye, comfort ye my people,
Speak to the heart of Jerusalem,
And say unto her,
That her hard service is full,
Her iniquity is paid up ».

His dream of the restoration is pictured in the following passage,

XLI-18 « Upon the bare hill tops will I open canals,
And springs in the valleys.
I will make the desserts oases of water
And the parched lands fertile soil »

But this prophet made decided advances upon all who had preceded him ; his conception of God is more like that of Jesus than that of any other writer in the Old Testament. Coming forward with the doctrine that Israel was chosen to teach the world righteousness and a true conception of God, he rose to the sublime utterance that this is done because God loves the world,

« I Jahwe have called thee righteously,
And I have put strength into thy hand,
And I have delivered thee and made thee a covenanted people,
For a light to the nations,
To open the eyes of the blind,
To bring forth the prisoner from his prison,
And from the house of bondage
They that sit in darkness »

If Israel was to carry this glorious message of the love of God to mankind it was necessary that they should earn that right by infinite suffering. Further more the universal religion to be established at Jerusalem upon Hebrew institutions was not to be for glory and power but to confort the poor and needy everywhere. They who would found this universal spiritual kingdom, had learned the needs of human hearts by their own suffering.

The teaching of this prophet was too spiritual for his age. The Exiles may have learned his stirring verses but they certainly did not understand their meaning.The infinite love of God for all humanity, the right to minister, only because of sacrifice, these were conceptions which Jesus was the first to understand and realize.

When Cyrus captured Babylon in 538 B. C. the Hebrews were permitted to return to Jerusalem. This was sixty years after the first captivity. Probably not many of the original colony still lived. Few accepted the opportunity to return and most of the Exiles throughout the world preferred to stay where they were. Those few who had been inspired by the hope of reorganizing the shattered state and of realizing the Messianic Kingdom, returned and partially restored the ruined city.

Two prophets now appeared at Jerusalem and began to preach to the disorganized community. These were Haggai and Zechariah. Haggai began with the following sentence. « Thus saith the Lord of Hosts. This people say the time is not yet come that the Lord's temple should be rebuilt » Haggai continues,

> « Is it time for you, Oh ye, to dwell in your ceiled houses,
> And my temple is lying waste.
> Go up to the mountains and bring wood and build the temple. »

It was the thesis of this prophet that the

Messianic age could not be ushered in until the Temple of Solomon was rebuilt and the ancient ritual service restored. Under the influence of his preaching the temple seems to have been partially rebuilt in 520-518.

Zechariah also urged the rebuilding of the temple, and appears to have been greatly influenced by the teaching of Ezekiel. He too saw an angel who measured the place for a new city. He also saw a roll inscribed with curses flying over the land, as a sign that henceforth guilt would light upon each individual and not any longer upon society as a whole.

Interesting for our history of Hebrew religion is the information in the 7th chapter of Zechariah that the Hebrews had instituted a fast day on the 10th. day of the 5th. month in memory of the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar (about August 1st). This Zechariah declares need not be kept, for true religion, says he does not consist in fasts and ritual. We have little information about the character of Hebrew religion as it was preached to the struggling community at Jerusalem before the coming of Nehemiah. It seems highly probable that the plan of Ezekiel was adopted in its main features. We have from this period the work of two prophets, Malachi and the unknown author of Chapters 56-66 of the present Book of Isaiah.

From Malachi there is little of direct interest for the history of religion. His sermons are scathing attacks upon the wickedness of the priests in the restored community. Malachi like Ezekiel believed strongly in ritual and personal purity. Hear his denunciation of the priests,

II-1 Now unto you oh priests is this message,
If ye hear not and take it not to heart,
To give honor unto my name, saith Jahwe Sabaoth,
Then I will send unto you a curse
And I will curse your blessings.

Malachi prophesied the immediate coming of the angel of the covenant, to establish the Golden Age.

The writer of Isaiah 56-66 was also like

Malachi the herald of a new age of righteousness founded upon the law under a Davidic King. The pages of this writer give us a dark picture of the struggling Jewish community. Priests and people were wicked and idolatrous. Certainly this was not the age prophesied by Ezekiel and Second Isaiah. But the centuries preceding Jesus were as hopeful of the future as they were despairing of the past and present. The age was thrilled with expectancy of the advent of a Messiah. Hear for instance this same writer,

Isaiah LX-1-3 Arise shine for thy light is come,
And the glory of Jahwe doth break upon thee
For although darkness doth cover the earth,
And gloom is over the peoples,
Yet upon thee Jehovah shall shine forth.
And his glory be seen upon thee,
And the nations shall walk in thy light,
And kings in the shining rays of thy seed »

This author is the first to speak of a Holy Spirit apart from the Being of God. In him the

Trinity had already become nascent, in the idea of God, the Messiah who would usher in the golden age and the Holy Spirit which would fill all hearts with joy and peace.

About the middle of the 5th. century the Jews of the dispersion began to be moved everywhere by a desire to rebuild Jerusalem and realize the promises of the prophets. In 444 B. C. Nehemiah, an influential courtier of the Persian court at Susa, to which Jerusalem then paid tribute, appeared at Jerusalem authorized by the Persian king to rebuild the city. The history of his struggles and final success in establishing securely a Jewish community is no part of an account of the evolution of Hebrew religion. Incidentally however Nehemiah became the cause for the final step in the evolution of the religion of the Old Testament. Soon after the community was securely founded and the temple rebuilt in a modest way, Nehemiah called upon Ezra to reorganize the Hebrew laws and religion. Ezra had been born and educated in the Jewish colony at Babylon. He had absorbed the learning of

Babylonia and studied the literature of his own race. The writings of Ezekiel seem to have made a particularly profound impression upon him so that in the new constitution, which he and Nehemiah prepared, the plan of Ezekiel exercised no little influence.

The laws adopted by Nehemiah and Ezra represent the final stage of Hebrew religion, known as the *legal religion.* Everything is now extremely ritualistic. The law fixes exactly the dates for the religious feasts and following Ezekiel lays great emphasis upon keeping the Sabbath. The Jews of this period became well nigh fanatical about the Sabbath and circumcision. Everything now depended upon the keeping of the law. Contrary to the universal principles of Second Isaiah Jewish religion became strictly exclusive. To enter into that religion and be saved it was necessary to become a Jew. Such reverence for the law existed that the compilers of the Prayer Book or Psalter have placed a hymn extolling the law at the commencement of the book ;

« Blessed is the man who walketh not in the councils
ot the wicked,
And goeth not in the way of sinners.
And sitteth not in the seat of the scornful,
But his delight is in the LAW of the Lord
And in his LAW doth he meditate day and night »

Thus in the beginning of the 4th century B. C. Hebrew religion was definitely arrested and defined as far as its dogmas and practices are concerned. Fortunately writers and poets continued to meditate upon the great problems of life. The author of Job propounded the problem of suffering and combatted the idea that misfortunes prove that the unfortunate has been guilty of sin. He proved in a drama of wonderful beauty that the will of God is working itself out upon a vast stage in which unjust suffering is some times necessary.

A school of philosophers and practical wise men arose who under Greek influence propounded the problems of ethics and answered them in the book known as Proverbs.

Still later arose the apochryphal writers of Daniel, Ezra and Enoch who by means of symbols continued to prophecy the coming of the Messiah.

However much the teachings of the prophets had been covered up by the letter of the successive laws, a strong religious conscience always throbbed in Judaism. They felt that they alone had found the one and only god. They felt that they alone possessed the secrets of righteouness in their law. Filled with the inspiring conviction that they would teach the world the true faith and bring all men to obey the law, they accepted poverty, exile and death.

It is hard to overestimate the value of the evolution of Hebrew religion, and exceedingly difficult to reduce its teachings to a systematic treatise. There is always something mysterious in this history which continually escapes the closest student. I do not pretend to have adequately explained their marvelous life but only to have presented its impression upon me.

* * *

APPENDIX

CUNEIFORM TEXTS VI p. 6

Bu. 91-5-9, 270.

Obv. 1 *shum 5/6 gan ikli ugar A-Shu-Ku*
2. *i-na bal-ri kâri Shamash-ki lib ir-si-it Sippar Ia-ru-ru*
3. *i-ta nam-kur* *marê A-me-il-Shamash*
4. *u i-ta ikli Marduk-na-si-ir mâr Sin-idin-nam*
5. *sha E-ri-ish-ti-ilu-A* (1) *zinnishat Shamash mârat I-bi-Uggal sha-ma-at*

---

(1) Name means " the desire of the goddess A. " This proper name is interesting as a commentary upon the oracles over the cup of oil in CT5 p. 6 II,-7 + 8 where we read *ish-tu ga-ab-li-a-at um-ma-tim 7 u 7 shu-ul-mu ish-hi-du-ni-im ma-an-za-az tzi-ini e-ri-ish-ti ilu-Uggal* which means, [" If] out of the midst of the central mass [of oil floating in the cup] little rings go out by sevens then there will be a drought and the *desire* of the god *Uggal* will be accomplished ". *tzi-ni* here means *dessert* and is to be connected with Hebrew *sûn*, from which comes the word *Sinai* name of the famous mountain in Southern Arabia. The Arabic *sinâ'* means " a little stone " and the original sense of this Semitic root appears to have been ' *sharp* '. ' *prickly* ' whence the word in Hebrew *tzén* thorn which is directly connected with the Babylonian word in this passage. A common explanation of the name of *Sinai* from the name of the moon god *Sin* originally Sumerian, and later a widely spread Semitic cult, is certainly wrong. *manzaz* which occurs sevaral times on this tablet [C. T. 5. 5 — 6] means " in the condition of " from *nazâzu* stand, like Lat. *status* from *stâre*. Cf. *status civitatis* : constitution of the

6. *Sag-Bi* 1 *kam-ma iklu Ibni-La-ma-za-ni* (1) *zinnishat Shamash*

7. *mârat Shamash-ma-gir* [

8. *Sag-Bi* 2 *kam-ma* [

9. [**zitti**] *Shamash-ba-ni mâr Sin-i-din-nam*

10. *sha* [**itti**] *Marduk-na-si-ir a-hi-shu i-zu-zu*

11. *sha* [**itti**] *Shamash-ba-ni mâr Sin-i-din-nam*

12. *A-ri-sha-at zinnishat Shamash mârat Ili-shu-ib-ni Pa Dam-Kar*

13. *A-na* 2/3 *ma-na kaspi ina Mu Nam-A-La Marduk* (2) *lu-i-sha-mu*

14. Sha itti A-me-il-Sin daianu mâr Sin-be-el-ap-lim

15. Sin-im-gur-an-ni mâr Ili-shu-ib-ni

state (Horace) *manzaz tzin*, *manzaz Sin* etc. means " condition of a dessert ", " standing under the influence of Sin " etc. *erishti ilu Uggal* " desire of the god *Uggal* " is here the answer of the oracle meaning that *Uggal*, the pest god will have his desire. It is not likely that any person was named *Erishti ilu Uggal*. The name *Erishti-A* probably comes from a similar oracle meaning that the goddess *A*, consort of the sungod, has had or will have her desire hence the name of the person. *Uggal* heretofore read *Nergal*. The reading *Ner* has no sound basis. *Ug* is to be read after PSBA. Dec. 1888 plate III, Col. II 6-15.

(1) Name means " Our protecting genius has created her ".

(2) This phrase *Mu-Marduk* would be incomprehensible were it not for the fact that the full date occurs in CT 4, 37b as *Mu-Bad sha arki Mu-Nam-A'-Gal-la Marduk-ge* which means " Year of (the building of) the wall, which is the year after the year of (the making of) the *Namagal* of Marduk ". This tablet is dated by the year when Ammizaduga made the great *Igigal* and built the wall for the first time. This sale took place then in the year when the *Namagal* of Marduk was built. The year following was the year of the " wall ".

16. *Ib-ni-Marduk mâr Sin-be-el-ap-lim*
17. *Sin-mu-sha-lim mâr Sin-im-gur-an-ni*
18. *u A-me-il-Sin mâr Ri-im-Adad*
19. *ah-hu A-ri-sha-at* [*zinnishat Shamash mârat Ili-*]*shu-ib-ni.*
20. *be-lu* [**zitti**] (1).
21. *I-na-e-sag-il-zêri-Sha-Ud-E*
22. *A-na 2 1/3 ma-na kaspi i-sha-mu*
23. *dup-pa-at um-ma-tim u si-ir-di-e*
24. *i-ri-is-su-nu-ti-ma ki-a-am ik-bu-u um-ma shu-nu*
25. *i-na E-gi-a ki-ma ah A-ri-sha-at zinnishat ilu Shamash.*
26. *a-ha-ti-ni sha-ak-na-at (?)*
27. *ki-ma a-ha-at-ni a-na shi-im-ti*
28. *il-li-ku*
29. *dub-bi shu-nu-ti nu-ba-'i-i-ma*
30. *u-ul ni-mu-ur*
31. *e-ma dub-bu shu-nu sha-ak-nu*

Reverse

1. *u-ul ni-di ni-ish-te-ni-i-ma ni-na-ad-di-na-ak-ku*
2. *an-ni-tu ik-bu-u*
3. *Ud-kur-shú dup-pa-at um-ma-tim u si-ir-di-e*
4. *Sha 5/6 gan ikli ugari A-Shu-Kù*

---

(1) One expects *bè-li-e Ha-la* " possessors of the inheritence ".

5. *i-na bal ri kâri Shamash-ki lib ir-si-it Sippar Ia-ru-ru*
6. *sha itti A-me-il-Sin daiani mâr Sin-be el-ap-lim*
7. *Sin-im-gur-an-ni mâr Ili-shu-ib-ni*
8. *Ib-ni-Marduk mâr Sin-be-el-ap-lim*
9. *Sin-mu-sha-lim mâr Sin-im-gur-an-ni*
10. *u A-me-el-Sin mâr Ri-im-Adad*
11. [ ] *Ina-e-sag-ila-zêri*
12. *mâr Emid-ka-E-a*
13. [*shum-ma in-*]*na-am-ma-ra i-il-li-a-nim-ma*
14. .... *E-sag-ila-zêri-mâr E-mid-ka-E-a*
15. .. .. *5/6 gan ikli*
16. *shum Shamash A Marduk u Am-mi-za-du-ga sharru*
17. *in-pad-de-esh*
18. *pan Nu-ur-ilu-Kab-ta* (1) *shangu Shamash mâr Ili-shu-ib-ni*
19. *pan Marduk-na-si-ir shangu A mâr*......... *ilu Na-bi-um*
20. *pan Adad-iddin mâr I-din*. ....
21. *pan A-me-el-Gir-ra mâr*... ....
22. *pan Sin-i-din-nam daiani mâr Adad-iddin*
23. *pan I-din-? daiani mâr Ib-ku-An-nu-ni-tum*
24. *pan A-me-il-Shamash daiani mar I-din-Nin-shah*

---

(1) The reading is certain. Which deity is intended by *ilu kab-ta* I do not know.

25 *pan Na-bi-um-la-ma-za-shu daiani mâr Ibni-Adad*

26. *pan Marduk-mu-sha-lim daiani mâr Ib-ku-An-nu-ni-tum*

27. *pan Sin-mu-sha-lim mâr Li-bi-it-Adad*

28. *pan Arad-ili-ul-mash-shi-tum mâr Ib-ku-Annu-ni-tum*

29. *pan Sha-al-lu-ru mâr Bit-ab-ba-a*

30. *arah shamna umu 4 kam*

31. *shatti Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal*

32. *Igi-gal gu-la Marduk lugal-bi in-na-an-sur-ra*

33. *Bad Am-mi-za-du-ga lugal sag-ge-kam*

34. *mu-un-du-a.*

TRANSLATION

Concerning the 5/6 *A gan* (1) of land, cultivated ground, *A-Shu-Ku* (2), 2 in the region of the quay of *Shamash-ki* (3), in the territory of *Sippar-Iaruru*, 3 located beside the property of the sons of Amel-Shamash, 4 and beside the field of Marduk-Nazir, son of Sin–idin-nam 5, which Erishti-A, nun of Shamash, daughter of Ibi–Uggal had sold; 6 bounded on the first front [end] by the field of Ibni-lamazani, a nun of Shamash, 7 daughter of Shamash-magir..............,8 bounded on the second front [ie, end opposite] by................; 9 property of Shamash-bani, son of Sin-idinnam, 10 which he had obtained as his part of the inheritence with his brother Marduk-nasir; 11 which from Shamash-bani, son of Sin-idinnam, Arishat, a nun of Shamash, daughter of Ilishu-ibni, secretary of the merchants, bought for 2 1/3 *mana*, in the year of the building of the wall which is the year after the construction of the *Namagal* of Marduk; 14-22 which Ina-esagila-zêri-*Sha-Ud-E* purchased for 2 1/3 *mana* of silver from *Amel–Sin*, the judge, son of Sin-bêl-aplim, *Sin-imguranni* son of Ilishu-ibni, *Ibni-Marduk*, son of Sin-bêl-aplim, *Sîn-mushalim*, son of Sin-imguranni and *Amel-Sin* son of Rim-Adad, brothers of Arishat, nun of Shamash and daughter of Ilishu-ibni.

---

(1) *A gan* was a very large piece of land at least eight acres. The field in question would then contain at least seven acres.

(2) A Sumerian idiogram found as yet only here. The sense probably is " watered with hand machines ".

(3) One of the quarters of greater Sippar. Certainly not the same as Sippar [*Ud-kib-Nun-ki*] for the line continues by saying that this village is within the terrory of *Sippar-Iaruru*. These are both names of smaller villages which were in the vacinity of the greater Sippar. On these Sippars see Scheil, *Une saison de Fouilles à Sippar*, p. 21.

23 The tablets of the estate (1) and the *sirdê* he (*Ina-esagila-zêri-Sha-Ud-E*) demanded and thus they replied.

25 " In the convent (2) Arishat, nun of Shamash, our sister has been placed........ (3)

27 When our sister went the way of fate [ie. died], 29 we looked for these tablets, 30 but could not find them. 31 Where these tablets have been placed [Obv.] we do not know. We will search for them and give them to thee ". 2 These things they said. 3 In future days as to these tablets of the estate and the *sirdê* 4 of the 5/6 *gan* of land, cultivated and watered (?) 5 in the region of the quay of Shamash-ki in the territory of Sippar-Iaruru 6-12 which *Ina-Esagila ?* son of Emid-ka-Ea, [bought] of Amel-Sin [etc.], Sin-

---

(1) *Ummatim.* Messner, M. A. P. 144 has determined the meaning of *ummanu* as " capital ". The femine form of *ummu* ie. *ummatu* occurs in the Becherwahrsagung texts, translated by Hunger (Bechwh. p. 22) as " centralmass ". The meaning " capital " for *ummatu* is certain from this passage. The meaning of *sirdû* is obscure.

(2) The translation " convent " for the Id. *E-gi-a*, " House of rushes " is taken from the comments of Father Scheil with whom the writer read this text.

(3) The meaning of *kima ah* is obscure ; the text also is not certain.

imguranni [etc.], Ibni-Marduk [etc.], Sin-mushalim [etc.], and Amel-Sin [etc.], 13 if they come to light or turn up 14 [they are the tablets of] (1) Esagila-zêri-?, son of Emidka-Ea, 15 purchaser (?) of the 5/6 *gan* of land.

16 In the name of Shamash, A, Marduk and Ammizaduga, the king, they have sworn.

18-29 In the presence of twelve witnesses.

30 Eigth month, fourth day. 31 Year when Ammizaduga, the king, fashioned the great *Igigal* of *Marduk* and built the wall of Ammizaduga, the king, for the first time.

COMMENTS

The meaning of this interesting tablet is as follows.

Siniddin had purchased a large tract of land in the suburbs of Sippar from a nun of the sun-god, Shamash. He died and left his property to be administrated by the eldest son, already of age, *Marduk-nasir*. This son took his part and kept the other part, 5/6

---

(1) [*Dup-pu sha*] ?

gan of land, under his administration, giving it at last to his brother *Shamash-ibni* when the latter became of age. In giving the names of the neighbors of the younger brother's estate, the elder brother is found among them [l. 4 Obv.] The younger brother then sells his estate to a nun of the sun-god for the huge sum of 2 1/3 mana of silver. This sum, about 150 pounds of silver bullion for 7 acres, shows that the land was very valuable.

Now the property of women who were childless returned to their family estates. Priestesses could marry but seem to have preferred to remain unmarried. In case the priestess' father had bequeathed property to her when she entered the convent, it could be done under the stipulation that she was only to have the income and that the property should revert to the brothers and sisters or that she might will it to whom she chose. [See Code of Ham. 178 + 9].

It seems that this priestess, *Arishat*, who had purchased the seven acres with her own money and hence had a clear title, for which she possessed the tablets of sale from *Shamash-ibni,* died, allowing her estate to revert to her brothers. Now *Arishat's* father was *Ilishu-ibni.* Among the five brothers here mentionned but one is the son of *Ilishu-ibni.* Two others have the same father *Sin-bêl-aplim.* The fourth and fifth brothers have each different fathers. This can only mean that her mother first married *Sin-bêl-apli* whence two sons, on his death *Ilis-hu-Ibni* whence a daughter [Arishat] and a son. The second father then *adopted* two more sons unless we wish to think of a third and fourth marriage of the mother (1).

These brothers sell the estate of their sister to *Ina-esagila*? who demands the ancient deeds given to *Arishat* which the brothers cannot find. They promise to look for them and if they be found to give them to the new

---

(1) It is not impossible that the mother was married four times. One is reminded of the instance cited by the Sadducees in Matthew 22, 23-33.

2 = X
6 2 = B
1 = C
1 = D

purchaser. In other words this long document takes the place of a *deed* which could not be produced.

CT. VI p. 19 b. (BU. 91-5-9, 315)

LETTER OF **Ibni-Bêl** TO **Erib-Sin** CONCERNING A TREAÇHEROUS MESENGER

1. a-na E-ri-ib-Sin
2. ki-be-ma um-ma Ib-ni-Bêl
3. a-na-ka-ma ash-shum te-mi-im
4. sha Arad-ili-shu mâr Ibni-Gir-ra
5. 2/3 ma-na kaspi at-ba-shum u i-na shi-bu-ti-ia
6. sha-at-ra-ti a-na li-ib-bi
7. Ash-shu-ur-ki il-li-ik-ma
8. kaspa-am a-na Sha-ma-ia-tim
9. u-ul id-di-in a-na-ku u Sha-ma-ia-tum
10. ina li-ib-bi
11. Ush-gan-na-ki ni-in-na-mi-ir-ma
12. a-na a-me-tim ni-it-te-ik-ri
13. um-ma a-na-ku-ma kaspa-am
14. Arad-ili-shu
15. ush-ta-bi-la-ak-shum
16. um-ma shu-ma shum-ma
17. Arad-ili-shu
18. kaspa-am id-di-nam
19. kaspu-um kaspa-am li-ir-di
20. a-na kaspi sha [ish-]tu a-ah-ka

21. la ta-na-ad-di u ash-shum
22. te-mi-im sha a-na 14 gin kaspi
23. Shamash-be-el-ilani
24. ta-ash-pu-ra-am kaspa-am
25. u-ul ad-di-in-shum
26. 2/3 ma-na kaspi e-li Arad-ili-shu i-shu.
27. Arad-ilani-shu tza-ba-at-ma
28. kaspu u ni-me-li-ti-shu
29. sha e-li-tim u a-ri-tim
30. shu-ush-ki-il-shu-u-ma
31. i-na li-ib-bi-im
32. 14 gin kaspi-ka li-ki-ma
33. sha bi-il-ta-am
34. shu-bi-lam

TRANSLATION

To Erib-Sin say (1); thus [saith] Ibni-Bel unto thee: As to the affair of *Aradilishu*, son of Ibnigirra, I sent (2) him with 2/3 *mana* of silver, and in my presence thou didst write (3).

To Ashshur he went, but did not give the money to *Shamajat*. I and *Shamajat* presented ourselves at the village Ushganna and disputed (1) over the matter. Thus I argued; I caused the money to be sent (2) to you by *Aradilishu*.

---

(1) Early letters always begin with this formula which reflects the ancient usage of communicating simply by means of a messenger.

(2) The first instance of *tibû* meaning "send" here with two accusatives.

(3) *Shatrati* fem. 2nd. per. must. refer to *Erib-Sin* who is thus proved to be a woman who had written a tablet containing

Thus he argued: If *Aradilishu* had given the money, the money had borne interest (3). *A propos* the money [2/3 *mana* the principal] which on your part you have not given (4), and concerning the affair in that you have sent Shamash-bêl-ilani for 14 *gin* of silver (5). I will not pay the money.

The 2/3 mana of silver is due from *Aradilishu*. Seize *Aradilishu* and his money and

---

the name of the messenger, the sum sent and the name of the sender, had also sealed it and given it to the messenger. Doubtlessly duplicates were made for the sender, the messenger and the recipient.

(1) *Nittekri*, imp. 1^{st} pl. of *nakāru*, I^2.

(2) *Ushtabila-ak-shum* with two personnal pronominal suffixes. *ak* for *ka* is indirect object.

(3) So I understand *li-ir-di* from *redû*, Del. H. W. 613, *redû* III = *increase*. Meissner M. V. G. 1905, 4 p. 58 has shown that *ridû* means 'heir', with this compare C T 6, 25 a 10 = 1/2 *shiklu* 15*she kaspi sha ana ri-di-i te-el-ku* which seems to mean "money which thou hast taken for interest". The whole may be based on the idea of "tread upon", "have power over", cf. also this root in Hebrew.

(4) *Tanaddi* for *tanadni*. Cf *nittikri* for *nintakar*, *tanadan* is present here used in an historical sense.

(5) 14 *gin* = 7/30 of a mana.

goods (1) whatsoever is movable (?) and immovable (?) (2), estimate it and take there of 14 shekels for thy money. As concerns the principal cause it to be carried to me.

COMMENTS

Ibni-Bêl had loaned 40 shekels to Shamajat which had been sent to him by Aridilishu. The latter kept the money. At the end of a a considerable period the lender sent *Shamashbêlilani* from Sippar (?) to Ashur a town in Assyria where the borrower was living to collect the principal and 14 shekels interest. It then was discovered that the money had never been delivered. Borrower and lender met at a town between Sippar (?) and Ashur to dispute the matter. The decision is clear from the translation. After the decision the lender wrote this letter to the woman who had written the original documents. It has no official character and the documents which contain the history of the lawsuit against the faithless messenger have not yet been found.

---

(1) *Nimelu* root *malû* ' be full ".

(2) *elilim u arilim* must have this sense; *movable* from the root *êlû to ascend,* is explanable. For *arîlû, immovable,* I know no explanation.

CT, VI 21, f [Bu. 91, 5-9, 370]

LETTER FROM **Shamash-putram** TO **Rabatum** ASKING FOR A SISTER IN MARRIAGE

1. a-na Ra-ba-tum
2. ki-be-ma
3. um-ma Shamash-pu-ut-ra-am (1)
4. a-ha-ta-am ki-sha-ma
5. a-na-ku i-na tu-bi-ia
6. at-ru da-ash-shu
7. um-ma shi-i-ma.
8. ha-at-tum sha be-el-ti-ia
9. e-li-ia na-di-a-at
10. lu-ul-li-lik she-ip
11. be-el-ti-ia lu-utz-ba-tum-ma
12. lu-ub-lu-ut
13. u di-ha-ra-[am ?]
14. sha ta-ash-pu-ri
15. a-shar i-di-ih[?]ik-ta-ti
16. u ap-pa ilâni
17. a-sha-ri-ish ma-shi-ib

(1) Name means " Oh sungod loose [the spell "].

18. a-na a-la-li-ki-im
19. pa-nu-shu sha-ak-nu
20. an-ni-tu la an-ni-tu
21. shu-up-ra ri-ish-shu.

TRANSLATION

To Rabatum say; thus saith Shamash-putram; [thy] sister give [me] and I in my satisfaction shall be an over joyous antelope (1). Thus hear me (2):

Reverence for my lady has fallen upon me; truly I extol thee (3); the feet of my lady,

Lo I touch: oh may I live.

Be it a refusal (4) which thou will send where-so-ever.......(5) he fears.

---

(1) So I understand this difficult phrase, *tûbi* in line 5 I take to be an Inf. II in the sense of " make merry ". For the idea cf. Psalm 92^{11}.

(2) *Shi-i-ma.* If a lady were addressed the form should be *Shimi* = *shemi*, cf. *ri-ish* for *rêsh* line 21, *Rabatu* despite the femine form must therefore be the name of a man. Compare *Tallquist, Namenbuch* under *Ribatu.*

(3) *Allilik,* root *alâlu* with suffix *ki.* Imperfect of continued action.

(4) *Diharu* meaning ' refusal ' is conjectural and based entirely on my interpretation of the text. Compare Arabic *dahara* ' reject '.

(5) I cannot restore the line.

Be it ' the face of the gods' (1), humbly is he waiting with his face set to sing thy praise. This and not that answer send : make him rejoice (2).

C T. VI, 28, A. [BU, 91-5-9, 414]

Imgur-Sin ADMINISTRATOR OF THE FAMILY ESTATE GIVES TO HIS TWO YOUNGER BROTHERS THEIR INHERITENCE.

1. . . . .
2. *? gan ikli ina* . . . . *[zitti]*
3. *sha mârê Ilàni*. . . . .
4. *i-ta A-bi-e-[ra-am]* (3)
5. *u i-ta Marduk-ikisha*
6. *1 1/2 shar 5 gin bit-Ru-A*
7. *i-ta A-ar-du-um*
8. *u i-ta mârê Kama[-ak-ka ?]*
9. *1 Sag ardi Shamash-tap-ku-su* (4) *shumi-shu*

---

(1) Probably a current expression for a favorable answer from a lady or her parents.

(2) So I understand *rh-ish-shu* from *rêshu*, Del. H. W. p. 607 b. This verb is certainly transitive, cf. the examples given l. c. and in Muss-Arnold.

This translation of a very obscure letter is offered in hope that it may lead to a better interpretation.

(3) Name completed after line 29. Compare Tallquist N. B. under *êrû* " schützen ".

(4) A formation from *pakadu* like *tahlubu; tapkudshu* = " Shamash is his guard ".

10. *1 alpu 1 littu 2 zambê* (1)
11. *1 nartâbu 1 ha-ar-bu-um*
12. *1* [*itzu*] *ma-ash-ka-ka-tum Dak-Kur*
13. *mi-im-ma an-ni-im zi-ti Ibik-Ishtar*
14. *u zi-ti A-na-Shamash-a-na-*[*dan* ?]
15. *sha Im-gur-Sin ana a-hi-shu i-zu-zu.*
16. *a-na ikli biti sag amti* (2) *Sag ardi*
17. *u mi-im-ma shum-shu*
18. *ish-tu bi-shu a-na huratzi* (3)
19. *zi-zu ga-am-ru-u-ma*
20. *u la i-tu-ru-ma a-na Imgur-Sin*
21. *u-ul i-ra-ga-mu-u*

Follow twelve witnesses.

TRANSLATION

? *Gan* of land in ? (name of the district) inheritance of the sons of X, bounded on one side by Abi-êram, on the other by Marduk-ikisha. 1 ½ *shar* 5 *gin*, city lot with house (4), bounded on one side by Wardum, on the other by the sons of *Kama* .. ? One slave, by name Shamashtapkusu, one ox, one cow, two lumber-wagons, one watering-machine, one threshing-machine [?] one *mashkakatu* made of stone from the mountain, all this is the heritage of Ibik-Ishtar and the heritage of Ana-Shamash-anadan which Imgur-Sin has divided unto his brothers. Concerning the land, house, male and female slaves, whatever there may be 'from mouth to money', the division is completed and they will not return and against Imgur-Sin they will not complain.

---

(1) Written in Sumerian *Mar-gid-da*, dialectic for *Gar-gid-da* [Brunnow 10224] and means " long wagon " for carrying heavy loads.

(2) Female slaves not mentioned in the list which shows that this is a conventional legal phrase.

(3) See also C T, VI, 47 a 5.

(4) A piece of land not more than two rods square.

In the name of the gods *Shamash* and *Marduk* they have sworn. In the presence of twelve witnesses. Date broken away.

C T, VI, 28 b [Bu. 91-5-9, 468].

A LETTER ARRANGING FOR AN INTERVIEW

1. a-na Li-bi-it-Adad
2. ki-be-ma
3. um-ma Shamash-ikisha.
4. Shamash li-ba-al-li-it-ka

5. ash-shum Ili-shu-ib-ni mâr Ar-ra-bu-um
6. u ina shu-mi-ka el-me-shum
7. ik-be-a-am-ma
8. uma-ma a-na-ku-ma
9. Ilishu-ibni ma-ru-utz-ku
10. u-ul il-li-kam
11. u Libit-Adad
12. in na-me-e ba-shu-u
13. ki-a-am a-bu-ul
14. i-na-an-na ab-bi-i-ri-ma
15. a-na li-ti-ib li-ib-ba-[shu]
16. .... el-me-shum
17. a-na ka-shum
18. a-na Babili
19. shu-li-i-ka it-ta-ra-am
20. a-me-a-tim shi-ta-al
21. nu-uz-zi-im-ma
22. a-na 10 umme
23. shuma shim zimnishat ni-shi-i-ka
24. a-na di-di-im
25. shu-ma ina libbi ashiba
26. ashar tappallama
27. ramanka u zinnishat nishî-ma
28. ush-tab-tzi-ir-ma
29. arhish tzibit temêki
30. .... ti-iz.

TRANSLATION

To Libit-Adad say; thus saith Shamash-ikisha. May Shamash make thee live. As to Ilishu-ibni son of Arrabum, I also, in thy name, have besought him but he replied; I, Ilishu-ibni, am sick and can not go: besides Libit-Adad is in a disagreeable locality. Thus I replied. Now I crossover (1), and that his heart might be appeased with........ I besought him for thee. He demands (?) that you come to Babylon (2). Consider the matter. Take yourself away for ten days.

Be it the price of thy mistress, 'tis for love
Be it [that thou art] resting at home

Where-so-ever thou....... ?, to thee and thy mistress I wish good luck. Oh quickly choose the part of wisdom (3).

---

(1) What or where is not indicated. The whole letter depends upon circumstances which are only hinted at.

(2) *ittaram* I do not understand; *shuli-ka* cause thee to come up.

(3) The above letter is a very obscure document resisting all attemps at complete elucidation. I understand line 23 to mean " If you come to Babylon it will be at the price of leaving

CT, VI, 32 b. [Bu 91-5-9, 534]

Letter concerning a dispute about the parentage of a young man

1. a-na a-bi-ia sha Marduk u-ba-la-tu-shu
2. ki-be-ma
3. um-ma Sin-na-tzi-ir-ma
4. Shamash u Marduk ina shu-mi-ia (1)
5. da-ri-ish um-mi a-bi li-ba-al-li-tu
6. Il-lum-na-tzi-ir a-bi-ia
7. tzi-bu-ut marûti-ia ir-shi
8. shu-ma i-na ki-it-tim
9. ma-ru-ka a-na-ku
10. ga-ta-at 1 a-me-il [. . . . .]
11. a-di 1 ma-na [kaspi ?]
12. li-ki ga-ta-[at-
13. lu-u at-ga-[. . . . . .]
14. e-li-nu-ku a-ba-a
15. shah-ni-a-am u-ul [i-shi ?]
16. ish-tu i-na-an-na um-[me] (2)
17. mah-ri-ka a-na-ku

---

your fiancee but it is for love's sake ". The letter writer is trying to arrange a meeting between two persons ; one is sick and can not go to see the other, while the other is in love and is therefore also loath to leave.

(1) Cf. CT, VI, 28, b. 5.

(2) Cf. *darish umme* line 5 and CT, VI 28 b. 14.

18. a-na a-hi-ia la tu-[she-zi-ba-an-ni?]
19. i-na an-ni-im ab-bu-ut-ka lu-mur.

TRANSLATION

To my father, whom Marduk has made to live, say; thus saith Sinnatzir; May Samash and Marduk for my sake give thee life unto eternal days, oh my father. Illumnatzir, my father, possesses the claim to my son-ship. If truly I am thy son, accept the cash payment of a free-born man as much as one *mana* of silver. The cash payment of a free-born man I do offer? thee? Beside thee an other father I have not. From this time I am before thee. To mine enemy thou wilt not abandon me. By this I will know thy rights of fatherhood.

COMMENTS

This letter reveals a state of affairs not hitherto found in any legal document nor touched upon in the *Code of Hammurabi*. It seems that the young man, Sinnatzir, had supposed the person addressed in this letter [name not given] to be his real father. An other person Illumnatzir has claims to being his father. Probably this person had adopted the boy and suddenly presents the tablets of adoption. At any rate the youth offers his real (!) father one *mana* to be received back into the family. According to the phrase of the letter this buying back the right of free sonship was called *katât amelim* probably in distinction from *katât ardi* to buy the right of being a slave, a proceeding actually confirmed in Neo–Babylonian business documents. The word *tzi-bu-ut* in line 7 certainly means " *claim* ". Compare CT VI, 3c 16 *zi–bu-ut-ka ar–hi-ish u–sha-ba-la-am* = thy claim I shall shortly cause to be brought to thee Likewise Nbk. 406,8 *ana kibutu* = " as a claim ". I translate here the text entire (1).

« 75000 onions Nadin-Marduk, son of Ikisha of the fraterny *Nur-Sin*, and Nabu-ukîn son of

---

(1) 75000 *Bu-Ru sha shumi* (2) *Nadin-Marduk mar Ikisha mari Nur-Sin* (3) *u Nabu-ukín mar Shi-ni-ia* (4) *ina katâ Ugal-uballi-it mar Nabu-shum-ishkun* (5) *mar Sagdidi mahir* (6) é-lat 2000 *Bu-Ru sha ina Babili* (7) *ana Itti-Nabu-balatu i-nam-din* (8) *ki-Bu-ru ana tzi-bu-tu* (9) *Itti-Nabu-balatu la ittalku* (10) 77000 *Bu-Ru ina pan Nabu-ukín.*

Shini-ia have received from Uggal-uballit son of Nabu shum-ishkun of the fraternity *Sagdidi*. There rest 2000 onions which he [Uggal-uballit] will give to Itti-Nabu-balat at Babylon. If Itti-Nabu-balat does not come for his *claim* then 77000 onions are in the possession of Nabu-ukin. [Two witnesses of the fraternity *Sagdidi* and one of no fraternity].

The above tablets have been chosen from among a great number of similar ones to give an idea of the nature of ancient legal and familiar literature.

TOURS, IMP. TOURANGELLE.

Librairie Paul GEUTHNER, 68, rue Mazarine, Paris.

BABYLONIACA

Recueil de Philologie Babylonienne et Assyrienne
publié par **Ch. VIROLLEAUD**
Chargé du Cours d'Assyriologie à l'Université de Lyon.

Fasc. 1 et 2, *Pronostics sur l'issue de diverses maladies,* textes en cunéiformes avec transcription, et glossaire. 96 pp. et 2 planches en fac-similé gr. in-8, prix **3** fr. chaque, en souscrivant à l'année complète.

Le prix de l'année achevée sera majoré.

Les **BABYLONIACA**, recueil purement philologique, paraîtront sans périodicité fixe. Il y aura 5 fascicules par an au prix de **3** fr. chaque, qui formeront un volume de 250 pp. Les **BABYLONIACA** seront autographiés ; l'écriture très claire et lisible de l'auteur nous fait préférer l'autographie à l'impression coûteuse en caractères mobiles.

Les **BABYLONIACA ne sont tirés qu'à 100 exemplaires**.

Les numéros prochains comprendront :

Textes chaldéens de Sippara : comptabilité et documents juridiques du Musée de Constantinople.
Textes juridiques de la seconde dynastie d'Our.
Notes lexicographiques.
Etc., etc.

En préparation :

L'ASTROLOGIE CHALDÉENNE

Par **Ch. Virolleaud**

Texte cunéiforme, fasc. 1 : **Sin** (**LA LUNE**)

Paru précédemment :
— — Fasc. 6 : Shamash ; transcription, pet. in-fol., 1905. 5 fr.

Nous publierons la traduction française, avec les notes du fascicule **SIN immédiatement après le volume du texte.**

Nous prendrons ensuite le fasc. 2 **Shamash** (le soleil), et nous procèderons de la même façon pour les autres parties. **Ishtar** (les planètes et les étoiles) et **Adad** (l'atmosphère).

L'Astrologie chaldéenne (13 fascicules en tout) sera complètement terminée en 1907.

Librairie Paul GEUTHNER, rue Mazarine, 68, Paris

Pour paraître en octobre :

LES INSCRIPTIONS D'ASSURNASIRPAL III

ROI D'ASSYRIE, 885-860, av. J.-C.

Nouvelle édition des textes originaux, d'après les Estampages du British Museum et les Monuments.

Par Y. Le GAC

L'auteur de cette nouvelle édition des textes d'Assurnasirpal a pu, il y a quelques années, grâce à la bienveillance et au libéralisme scientifique du Directeur des antiquités Assyriennes et Egyptiennes, mettre à profit la riche collection des Estampages du British Museum. Beaucoup d'entre eux sont utilisés pour la première fois. Les textes annalistiques, entre autres, sont présentés dans une refonte, appuyée sur tous les Estampages qui s'y rapportent, et leur étude attentive a permis à l'éditeur de constater que les Annales, sur plusieurs monuments, affectaient une forme non signalée jusqu'à ce jour. Des textes complètement inédits s'ajoutent à la série déjà nombreuse, des textes du grand Roi. Les monuments ont été l'objet d'une revision aussi soignée que possible, et, si 4 textes, qui figurent dans l'édition des **Annals of the Kings of Assyria, edited by E. A Wallis Budge, and L. W. King**, n'ont pas pris place dans cette nouvelle édition, c'est que, lors du séjour de l'éditeur à Londres, il n'a pu les étudier directement lui-même ; et que, d'autre part, cette nouvelle édition n'a pas la prétention de donner tous les textes d'Assurnasirpal, dont la liste n'est sans doute pas près d'être close.

— Introduction, environ **15** pages.
— Texte autographié, environ **190** planches.

Prix environ 15 francs.

Tours, Imp. Tourangelle.

DATE DUE

JAN 10 79

~~JAN 28 '79~~

~~[illegible] 2 1 '79~~

~~FEB 29 1980~~

GAYLORD

PRINTED IN U.S.A.